

Durham E-Theses

The main elements of the Osiris legend with reference to Plutarch and certain folk-tales

Bakry, H. S. K.

How to cite:

Bakry, H. S. K. (1955) *The main elements of the Osiris legend with reference to Plutarch and certain folk-tales*, Durham theses, Durham University. Available at Durham E-Theses Online:
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9519/>

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a [link](#) is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

Academic Support Office, Durham University, University Office, Old Elvet, Durham DH1 3HP
e-mail: e-theses.admin@dur.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
<http://etheses.dur.ac.uk>

Abstract

The significance of the figure of Osiris cannot be overemphasized. Architectural remains witness to his importance in the past, and stories about him to the interest he has aroused throughout the ages. Osiris was a historical personage, a king who was deified after his death.

Before Osiris, the creator sun-god ruled supreme. As a god, Osiris took over the functions of the other created gods of Nature. He was water, the 'Life of the Soul', or Nun; and earth, the nourisher of the body, or the Primal Hill, both created by the Sun 'at the first time'. With Osiris, Nun became the inundation or his excretions, and the Hill the land of Egypt or his burial-place.

His death was a violent one: by murder and dismemberment, but followed by resurrection, which gave hope to every Osirian believer. Water was used, which could ritually rejoin the scattered limbs of the deceased, and provide him with his efflux to live again. In the case of Ra° water led merely to rebirth.

Osiris' death and resurrection are referred to in such Osirian narratives as the Tale of the Two Brothers and the Story of the Blinding of Truth, which were in vogue in Pharaonic times.

In course of time Osiris won a prominent place in the Egyptian pantheon. When finally Christianity vanquished the ancient Egyptian religion, certain observances of the Osirian cult were

still practised by some Christians in Egypt.

The Osiris legend was also interpreted anew by the all-pervading philosophy of Plato. Features of the legend can be traced in certain folk-tales all over the world. These contain the moral: good remains, while evil vanishes.

To the Egyptians, Osiris' death meant Nature's death, and his revival her revival, and these two vicissitudes were mythopoeically understood as the struggle between Osiris and Seth. The conflict was enacted in mystery-plays and ritual in ancient and modern Egypt and Greece, and even in Great Britain.

If such folk-tales and customs are carefully scrutinized, their patterns reveal the main Osirian elements of death by mutilation, retreat in vegetation and final resurrection by water.

H. S. K. BAKRY.

PH.D. THESIS.

MARCH 1955.

THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE OSIRIS LEGEND

With Reference to Plutarch and Certain Folk-tales

Errata

Wrong

p. II2
p. I37
p. 319 Chap. XV

Right

p. III, etc.
p. I36, etc.
p. 318.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

WATER OF LIFE

The deeper meaning of the Osiris-story; Society and Nature: the dependence of human life on the two natural elements of water and vegetation, I; the responsibilities of both the creator-god and his creations, 5; Man's hope for resurrection, 4; grounds of Osiris' wide popularity, 5; Osiris gives water and he himself is drunk as water, "the Life of the Soul," 6; Plutarch's criticism of the Egyptians and their gods, 7; Osiris' birth at Thebes, 10; "Osiris is found," 11; the Egyptian's mythopoeic mind, 12; the Mediterranean as Osiris' sea, 13; Plutarch and Lucian on Osiris' box sailing to Byblus, 14; the drowning of Maneros in the Mediterranean, 15; the burial of Osiris in the Sources of the Nile, and his burial all over Egypt, 16; the Sources of the Nile at Kher-cha, 19, n. 4; Krty and Mnty, 21; the Nile-water as Osiris' exudations, 21; the Snake of the Sources, 22; the sun-god as creator of the inundation, 22, n. 3; the solar creator as a bird above the Sources, 23; the phoenix as harbinger of a new

era and messenger of the inundation,24; Osiris identified with the phoenix, the sun-god's bird,25; the Snake in Egyptian mythology and Semitic traditions,25; Apōphis,28,n.2.

CHAPTER II

ISIS' TEARS

Isis' ideal love for Osiris,30; incidents of Isis' tears,31; Horus' violation of his mother,32; her tears and the Nile-inundation,33; Sothis as harbinger of the inundation,33; Isis identified with Sothis,34; her tears swell the Nile,36; the "Night of the Drop,"36; Pausanias' story of Isis' tears,38,n.1.

CHAPTER III

CREATIVE WATER

Water, the oldest medium of creation,40; the sun-god as creator from water (Mün),41; the Primeval Hill as Navel of the Earth,42; creation by spittle,43; creation by masturbation,44; the sun-god and Osiris as fathers and mothers of men,45; "Chaos,"46,n.2; the daily rebirth of the sun-god through his ablution in his own water,47; Primeval Hill reflected in the inundated land of Egypt and her holy edifices,49; Re^c and Osiris identified with each other

in the Egyptian calendar, 49; Ptah, creator with the mouth (spittle?), 52; Ptah and Osiris as creators, 54.

CHAPTER IV

SOLAR REBIRTH AND OSIRIAN RESURRECTION

The sun-god's celestial journeys and his daily rebirth and death, 56; his matutinal purification, 57; the deceased in company with the sun-god, 58; Horus and Thoth as solar bath-attendants, 58; Osiris' attempt to Osirianize the solar fields, 59; the deceased identified with Osiris, 60; the role of water in the cults of Re^c and Osiris, 61; Osiris' myth in solar rites: baptism of Pharaoh, 64; the rite of the "House of the Morning" (Fr-dwȝt), 66; the rite of "Bringing the Foot" (Int rd m hdn), 66; the meaning of pr-nfr, 68, n. 2; the rite of "Opening the Mouth" (Wpt-rȝ), 69, 77; how purification rites and libations were Osirianized, 71; the Eye of Horus as the deceased's cool water, 75; as incense, 77; Osiris' myth in the rite, 80; the meaning of Nfr, 81; the resurrection of Osiris, 84; Osiris and the Primeval Hill in relation to justice and righteousness, 84; the retirement of Re^c after the destruction of mankind, 85; Osiris' Stairs, 86; Osiris as a creator-god; Thebes and Abydus as his

Primeval Hill and the inundation his Nun, 87; the solar background of Osirian righteousness and justice, 89; the moral significance of the Primeval Hill, 90.

CHAPTER V

OSIRIS' FERTILITY IN LIFE AND DEATH

The marriage of Isis and Osiris in their mother's womb and its deep significance, 95; the birth of Anubis, 96; Osiris' secret relation with Nephthys, 95; the birth of Hashepsowe, 100, n. I; Isis' desire for Osiris, 101; the posthumous birth of Horus, 102; Isis gives the dead Osiris air, 104; Bata as Osiris and Horus simultaneously, 105; Christ's birth, 107; Plutarch on the dismemberment of Osiris, 107; the Tale of the Two Brothers an Osirian tale, 109; Osiris "the Lusty Bull," 110; Ra cuts off his phallus, 112; Osiris and Dionysus, 113.

CHAPTER VI

OSIRIS AND WATER IN FOLK-TALES

Osirian stories from different lands with their various sources, 115; the water of creation and resurrection, 118; Osiris' tragedy, 120; the general

Osirian pattern of certain folk-tales, I2I; water as the salvation of the persecuted soul, I23; Osiris' box sails to Byblus, I24; Horus loses his eye-sight, I29; the Eye of Horus resurrects Osiris, I29; spittle restores eye-sight, I30; saliva for purification, immortalization and healing treatment, I3I; Rē^C loses his eye, I3I; Christ cures a blind man by saliva, I32; milk, I32; Horus recovers his sight by milk, I33; banquet as trap, I34; Bata and Ivan undergo the same experiences, I35.

CHAPTER VII

THE TREE AS A RETREAT

Hopes of immortality in vegetation, I37; the tree as a substitute for the sun-god's primal hillock, I39; the epiphany of Rē^C from two trees, I40; Rē^C emerges from the thighs of Nut, I4I; the procession of the sun-god on earth, I42; the Sphinx, I43, n. I; the persea-trees growing up from Bata's blood, I43; the sun-god as a babe sitting on a flower, I44; non-Egyptian trees in folk-tales, I47; Osiris' tree at Byblus, I48; Osiris and the Widower's Daughter travelling in a "pillar" to a foreign land, I48; two stories of a Lemon-girl parallel to the Tale of the Two Brothers, I49; Bata

the "Beautiful Bull," I50; on the meaning of MD3, I51;
the Little Fool's green grave, I53.

CHAPTER VIII

SOULS AS BIRDS IN TREES

The sun-god's tree and bird, I54; the sacred tree has a door, I55; the tree as a temple, I56; obelisk and tree, I56; the phoenix as the sun-god's soul, I57; the Moslem paradise, I57; the Egyptian paradise, I58; souls as birds in both paradises, I61; and in Jewish religion (?), I62; the influence of magic on souls in ancient Egypt, I63; Isis as a bird, I68; Isis as a bird fluttering about the pillar-tree of Osiris at Byblus, I68; and sitting on his phallus (at Abydus), I69; Horus as a bird sucking his mother, I69.

CHAPTER IX

OSIRIS IN THE TREE

Why Osiris had many tombs in Egypt, I70; trees shading his tombs, I70; the sycomore-tree Osiris' tomb, I70; the phoenix Osiris' bird, I73; Osiris' tree at Byblus, I74; the marvellous growth of Bata's persea-trees, I74; the sacred tree greets and is greeted, I75;

admiration for the tree in the Osiris legend and folk-tales, 176; the turning-point in these, 179; the analogy between the Tale of Iyar, the Sacristan's Son and that of the Two Brothers, 181; the shape of Osiris' tomb, 182; his tomb at el-Medînâ, 182; Osiris as the tree itself, 185; the tree springing from his body, 185.

CHAPTER X

TREE AND PILLAR

Osiris' tree at Byblus as an historical fact, 187; the Djed-pillar of Osiris, 190; a parallel between Osiris and Jesus in the tree and pillar, 191; the moral of folk-tales, 194; "Search" and "Find" in Osirianism and Christianity, 195; Anubis the "Lost Son," 195; the pillar in prehistoric times, 199; the Byblians venerating the wood of Osiris, 200.

CHAPTER XI

TREES AND IMMORTALITY

Sacred trees shading and feeding the spirits of the dead, 202; the tree-goddess as the deceased's mother, 204; the spirit of the deceased as a phoenix in a tree, 205; the Bai and the Eye of Horus, 205; how Osiris in the tree is different from a tree-goddess, 207; the

Egyptian meaning of "greenness," 207; Isis as a tree-goddess, 209; how a sacred tree endows immortality, 210; the name of the deceased written on the leaves and fruits of the sacred tree, 212; the i(5)m-tree becomes Osiris' tree, 213; Seth as the ship carrying Osiris, 214; the oryx, the animal of Seth, 215.

CHAPTER XII

THE HEART AND SALVATION

The heart as the seat of knowledge and receptacle of emotins, 219; heart and soul, 220; the Memphite Theology, 221; lustral washing and the heart, 223; the revivification of the heart by water, 224; pagan customs observed by Egyptian Christians, 224; the Eye of Horus resuscitates Osiris, 226, n. 2; Bata's heart revivified by water, 227; the heart only remains in the mummified body, 227; the loss of the heart means annihilation in the Osiris rituals and folklore, 228; the deceased's heart as a witness in Osiris' Judgment-hall, 230; the individuality of the heart in Egyptian thinking, 231, n. 3; the solar origin of the Osirian judgment, 232; hearts, tree-fruits and immortality, 233.

CHAPTER XIII

CREATION AND RESURRECTION FROM BONES

The propagation of Osiris' myth through Plutarch's work, 235; the loss of the phallus by Osiris and Bata, 236; similarities between Osiris and leading characters of folk-tales, 236; trees springing up from bones, 237; two Egyptian traditions of cannibalism and resurrection from bones, 238: the "Cannibal Hymn" in the Pyramid Texts, 239; the story of Nut who ate her children, 242; Osiris enters the mouth of Nut and comes out from between her thighs, 243; the leg-bone and Osiris' water, 244; creation from bones, 244; Osiris and the moon, 247; baboons worshipping the sun, 248, n. I; the Eye of Horus and the moon, 249; Plutarch on the relation between Osiris and the moon, 249, n. I; "Horus the Elder" and Horus son of Isis, 250; the sun and the moon as the two eyes of Horus, 251; creation and resurrection from bones in other religions, 252.

CHAPTER XIV

OSIRIS' DEATH IN THE WATER

Osiris' identification with the tree, 253; his various sepulchres, 256; his drowning at Nedit, 258;

Nedit or Busiris?258; the "Great Procession of Abydus"
as described by Ikhernofret,261; its meaning,263;
Abydus in the Middle Kingdom,266; Osiris' drowning as
related by the Pyramid Texts and the Metternich Stela,
266; Isis' magical power over crocodiles,269; Horus
saves his father from drowning,270; the struggle be-
tween Horus and Seth in the water for the crown,270,
n. 3.

CHAPTER XV

OSIRIS' PROPITIOUS DROWNING

Osiris' drowning at Baltim,274; the Shbako Stone
on Osiris' drowning,275; his drowning and burial at
Memphis,275; apotheosis by drowning,277; Osiris and
Ptah in Memphis,279; Osiris accompanies Rē^o on his
journeys,280; Osiris nourishes Egypt from his Mem-
phite burial place,280; further study of Osiris' ferti-
lity,281; Osiris as creator,284; Osiris as an earth-
god,285; Osiris as a corn-god,286; the sun-god as a
"maker" of corn,289; Osiris the corn-spirit,290; the
sprouting and fading of corn as a symbol of resurrection
and death,292; Osiris teaching people the cultivation
of corn,292; Plutarch's criticism of the Egyptians
and their gods,294; the Egyptians' tendency to deify

inanimate things, 297; Harpocrates a god of wisdom?
"A sweet thing is truth," 299; corn growing from
Osiris' limbs, 301; resurrection by embrace, 303;
Osiris' manifold rôle, 304; grain-offerings, 306;
bread and corn as the deceased's food, 307; the
deceased eats of the food of Rē^c in the sky, 308; he
also eats of Osiris' bread in the Underworld, 310;
Osiris as corn and bread and parallels in Jewish
and Christian religions, 310.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NATURAL AND SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE MYSTERY PLAY OF THE SUCCESSION

Spiritual life in the Osirian and Christian religions,
319; preparations for the coronation pageant, 320; the
as the Eye of Horus, 410; the Eye of Horus sustains
the deceased, 321; bread joins the parts of the body,
322; the threshing of corn means the killing of
Osiris, 323; the intervention of Horus to save his
father from the partisans of Seth in the Mystery
Play and the rite of "Opening the Mouth," 323; Horus
embraces his father to resurrect him, 325; Osiris and
Horus exchange their souls, 326; the Four Children of
Horus carry Osiris, 327, n. 3; Osiris in "the mounting

chaff,"329; the dependence of Society for its well-being on the resurrection of Osiris,330.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CEREMONY OF DRIVING THE CALVES (HWT BHSM)

Heliopolis as Osiris' burial place,332; the ceremony in Ptolemaic times,332; the 3t fw-crown,333, n. I; the fertility-god to whom the ceremony is consecrated, 334; the Lower Egyptian origin of the ceremony,335; the Osirianization of the ceremony in the Ptolemaic times,335; Osiris replenishes Egypt's barns,336; the ceremony in the New Kingdom,338; a sacrificial rite? 338; Osiris' myth in the ceremony,338; Osiris as a fertility-god,339; the ceremony depicted in private tombs,340.

CHAPTER XVIII

OSIRIS IN THE SED-FESTIVAL

The coronation day,341; why it was celebrated,343; the royal procession,344; the festival of illuminations,345; Wepwawet, Horus and Anubis,347; Osiris in the festival,349; the Sed-festival of Amenophis III,350; the Sed-festival on a New-Kingdom coffin,352;

the Running Ceremony at the Sed-festival and its meaning, 354.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ROLE OF OSIRIS IN THE KHOIAK-FESTIVAL

Preparations for the festival, 356; the festival from Khoiak I2 to Khoiak 30, 357; Horus as a crocodile gathers his father's limbs from the water, 358; the illumination-festival, 359; the NH-B-K3W-festival, 360; the festival of Sokar, 364; Osiris saved from Amün, 365; the survival of the Ntryt-festival in the modern spring-festival of "Sham al-Nasim," 366; the "Raising of the Djed-pillar" on Khoiak 30, 368; the Osiris myth in rituals and ceremonies, 369; Tybi I, 370; the Khoiak-festival celebrated by individuals, 370.

CHAPTER XX

OSIRIS' DJED-PILLAR

The Djed-pillar in the Middle and New Kingdom, 372; the history of Osiris' association with the Pillar, 372; Has the Pillar really nothing to do with Busiris? 373; Osiris worshipped as the Djed-pillar, 373; the Pillar and Sokar, 374; Kees and Sethe disagree, 375; the day of

Sokar and the day of "Raising the Djed-pillar,"376; the meaning of "Raising the Djed-pillar,"377; the goose and the oryx sacrificed for Osiris,377; the mock fight in the ceremony of "Raising the Djed-pillar,"378; the mock fight in Herodotus,378; offerings and the crown,379; the Children of Horus lift Osiris,382; Pharaoh himself raises the Pillar,383; the Sed-festival represented in the tomb of Khertuf, 383; n. I; King Sethos offers cloth to the Pillar of Osiris,384; Sethian animals,384; Seth identified with the Djed-pillar,385; Horus embraces his father and both exchange their Kas,386; the identification of Seth with the Djed-pillar explained,386.

CHAPTER XXI

FOR THE SAKE OF FERTILITY

In folk-tales and the Osiris legend blood fertilizes the land,388; stories of human sacrifice criticized, 389; the sacrifice of kings in Egyptian folklore; the procession of Abu Nauruz,393; Seth's fecundity,394; burning as an instrument of punishment: the story of Ubaone,395; and "the one who is tired of life,"396; burning means annihilation,396; burning in folk-tales, 397; criticism of folk-tales in classical writings

and the pageant of Abu Naurūz, 397; general pattern of the Osiris myth, 400; Osirian elements in the Christmas Mummers' Play, 400; the Mummers' Play, 402; the broom-spirit in the play and the Egyptian rite of "Bring-ing the Foot," 403.

List of Abbreviations	408
Bibliography	410
Appendix:	
I. The Widower's Daughter	i
II. The Peasant's Daughter	iii
IIIA. The Three Lemons (Le tre cetre)	v
IIIB. The Lemon-Girl	viii
IV. The Tale of the Silver Saucer and Crystal Apple	xviii
V. Donotknow	xxv
VI. The Merchant's Daughter and the Servant	xxxv
VII. Ivan the Sacristan's Son	xli
VIII. The Christmas Mummers' Play	xlv

CHAPTER I
WATER OF LIFE

To relate Osiris' story as a mere series of human experiences would be insufficient, in that it would ignore its important religious and universal implications. When we consider the motives underlying the actions of a story, that story takes on a profounder meaning, and it is that deep-lurking meaning which we shall first of all attempt to unveil in our study of Osiris, and only in passing treat of the individual episodes of his life as preserved by the various traditions which range from the earliest times till about the second century of our era. What is life except the continual effort of human and non-human creatures to adjust themselves to and be in harmony with Nature? Matter and spirit are shared by human individuals that form what we call "Society". Yet without spirit matter would be inert, and to keep both of them active and harmonious and to help society to march in the procession of civilisation, two nourishing factors must be there, factors which may roughly be summed up in the two natural elements: water and vegetation. They are inseparable since without water there would be no vegetation. This is particularly true in Egypt, for, as Hecataeus and Herodotus after

(1)

him said, Egypt is truly a gift of the Nile ($\delta\omega\rho\sigma\tau\omega\pi\kappa\mu\omega\tilde{\nu}$).

But for vegetation, water would be useless and incapable of sustaining life. The stage on which both elements play their rôle is naturally the earth: in the conception of some early peoples, including the Egyptians, water runs not only on the surface of the earth but also beneath it. Although plants are visible on its face, their roots must lie as deep as the sub-soil water itself, which, to the Egyptians, is only a part of the waters under the earth. Both water and earth, according to the Egyptian cosmogony, had, as primeval

(1) Herodot., II, 5.

"Egypt also the historians Herodotus and Hecataeus (though possibly the work on Egypt is by another than Hecataeus) both call similarly "the gift of the river," and Herodotus has shown by very clear proofs that this is so, owing to the coincidence of country and river sharing the same name...."

Αἴγυπτον τε Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ Ἐκαταῖος οἱ λογοποεῖ, ἡ εἰδή του ἄλλου ἡ Ἐκαταῖον ἴστι τὰ ἀκριτήρια τῇ γῇ τῇ Αἴγυπτίᾳ, δῶρὸν τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ αμφότεροι ὀβαύτως ονομάζουσεν. καὶ οὐκ ἀμφοτέροις τεκμηρίοις ὅτι ταῦτη ἔχει Ἡρόδοτώ ἐπιδεικνυται, ὡς οὐκ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν τυχὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ εἶναι ἐκώνυμον . . .

Arrian, Anabasis of Alexander, Bk V, 6. 5 (Arrian - c. A.D. 95-175). Also see Ephorus of Cyme (c. 405-330 B.C.) frag. 65, Jacoby = 108 Müller. On the river Aegyptus, see Odyssey 14. 258; Diodorus I, 19. 4.

See Strabo, Geog. I, 36; XV, 691. Cf. Diodorus I, 36; Pliny, Nat. Hist., II, LXXXVII. 201; Heliodorus, Aethiopica, IX, 9. Also see Lumbroso, G., L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani, Roma, 1882, p. 3.

elements, to wait for a creator to create first himself and then the rest of the universe, life in the broadest sense of the word.

Men were, therefore, created by him but not to be left to live on one another. They had to be fed on the products of his earth and to live not in a chaotic manner but in a well-organised society ruled by laws and morals to shun anarchy and destruction.

The responsibilities of the first creator were not, therefore, easy to shoulder. The whole universe had to rely on him for sustenance provided by the earth he had created, and on his wisdom for its protection from barbarism. So the god had by nature to be just, and man had to be god-fearing and righteous. The god says:

"I am Re^{-c} who came forth from Nun (= the Primaeval Waters)

My detestation is wickedness, I behold it not. I am he who
(1)
made righteousness."

And man in turn should be sinless, "because I (man) desired that
(2)
it might be well with me in the presence of the great god" and
"in order that I might offer righteousness to the great god, the
(3)
lord of heaven" and "I have come unto thee, lord of gods, Atum-
Re^{-c}-Harakhti, that I may present unto thee righteousness, for I know
(4)
that thou livest thereon." In this manner water and earth were

(1) Gardiner, Proc. SBA XXXVIII, 45.

(2) Sethe, Urk., I, 123, 132 f.

(3) Petrie, Dendereh, Pl. 9.

(4) Budge, BK Dead (Text), p. 4.

regarded as the source of both corporeal and spiritual existence as far as the creation of the universe is concerned.

It is noteworthy that according to Egyptian ideas, not only man but even the creator-god himself cannot possibly escape the threat of death. (1) Yet there is every hope for a new life, and resurrection comes to be the ultimate solution of this pathetic human problem simply through the perpetual and continuous existence of the primal elements of creation, for rebirth may be obtained through the observance of ritual lustration, and vegetation is itself a perpetual example of rebirth. Through religion, a body of instructions enabling man to satisfy his material needs and realise his spiritual hopes and ambitions both on earth and in the hereafter, man can make good the loss of earthly life, and thus the universe together with its contents lives for ever and ever.

It will late be demonstrated that Osiris, as well as the other Egyptian deities to whom the rôle of creator was attributed, also came to be connected with a form of creation. The discussion of this point will be reserved for a later stage, but in order to appreciate how this came about and to decide whether Osiris was himself considered from the first as creator, or whether the idea was the offshoot of

(1) Cf. The "Cannibal Hymn", Pyr. 399-412; Infra, pp. 238 ff.

other creation-legends, it is first necessary to consider Osiris in relation to water and earth and consequently to vegetation. When this relationship is grasped, the latent meaning of the Osirian story will be readily understood, and rightly be considered the primal story of human civilisation, one of the facts which accounts for Osiris' long standing not merely in Egypt but also abroad.

Some Egyptologists assert that the great popularity of the Osiris-legend is mainly due to his human and social aspects since he lived amongst men as king and died a pitiful, human death. He was killed by his malicious brother, who had him drowned, and afterwards cut his body to pieces out of envy and desire for his office. Nonetheless, he died only to live again. People died, too, and could in their belief live with him in the other world where he also, as their king, looked after them. This human side of Osiris' life as the shepherd of his people no doubt contributed largely to his vast popularity both in Egypt and elsewhere after the star of Pharaonic glory waned. In him his devotees modelled their own hopes of salvation and resurrection after death. Thanks to him death was regarded merely as a temporary and ineffective break in the span of their life, and as a preparation for a more enjoyable life in the world beyond.

Yet his overwhelmingly wide popularity cannot be attributed solely to this human aspect. It is also founded upon another significant fact,

namely that he was identified with water, one of the four cardinal elements and one of the three most important of these, since water is the life-blood of Egypt and of other semi-desert countries. The following text illustrates this:

"Re^c: he giveth to thee light, the abundance of his beams in thine eye; Shu: he giveth to thee fresh air collected for thy nose with life; Geb: he giveth to thee all fruits on him so that thou mayest live thereby; Osiris: he giveth to thee the inundation so that thou (1) mayest live."

Here, as in other texts, the Egyptian conception seems to sum up the cosmic elements as Re^c (fire), Shu (air), Geb (earth), and the connexion between Osiris and water is particularly clear. Furthermore, in the Book of the Dead Osiris is a deity of water, and his name thus appears to be pregnantly significant in such an apparently prosaic mode of expression as sw(r) i.i Wsir N. Tfnt. i mw (2) "I drink the Osiris N. - my Tfēnet is water" (i.e. moisture).



In addition, Maspero long ago called attention to a scene upon a painted sarcophagus, in which ^{a/} libation vase bears the name "Osiris"

(1) Todt., 152, 7; cf. Brugsch, Ueber die vier Elemente in altägyptischen Inschriften, in ZAS VI, 122-23; cf. also Plut., De Iside 364 A-B, 366 B-C.

(2) Leps. Todt., Pl. 74 (Chap. 152, l. 7).

to indicate that the water in it, which comes from the source kbhw, a word applied to both "source (of the Nile)" and "libation", is Osiris and, as the remainder of the text in the scene indicates, gives new life to the soul of the deceased. The water is here (1) called "the Life of the Soul"  This scene is reproduced in fig. 1. There are many other proofs of Osiris' identification with water which it is inconvenient at the moment to mention here, as they will be more suitably treated in the discussion of Osiris' relation to creation.

Before proceeding, it is as well to consider here a statement made on the general question of the identification of deities with natural elements, by Plutarch, in which he censures and ridicules the ancients, including the Egyptians, for assigning to such divine gifts as crops and fruits the names of the gods themselves, and for rejoicing at their appearance, and grieving over their disappearance. Whatever may have been the case with other ancient peoples, Egyptian traditions do not in fact support such an idea, but show that while the Egyptians were able to apply to the gifts of the gods the names of the gods themselves, they were quite able to appreciate the difference between the gods and such gifts, and saw nothing inconsistent in this. It is only the Greek love of consistency which sees anything blameworthy or ridiculous in it.

(1) Lanzone, Dizionario, II, Pl. 294, No. 1, p. 779.

Plutarch's source for this was a Greek author of the sixth century B.C., Xenophanes of Colophon by name, the first philosophic theologian who believed in one God ruling the universe, denounced the pantheon and bitterly criticised the gods' disgraceful demeanour, an attitude which the early Christians adopted against Osiris and his fellow-gods and -goddesses. ⁽¹⁾ About three centuries later, Aristotle in his Rhetorica quoted Xenophanes in a discussion of logical arguments, which leads one to imagine that Plutarch, in criticising the Egyptians and their rites on the ground that they were illogical and unreasonable, must have made use of Aristotle's work and in this manner come across Xenophanes' derogatory opinion. ⁽²⁾ The same argument was used in the fourth century A.D., when Julius Firmicus Maternus, converted to Christianity, launched a merciless, contemptuous attack on paganism before the Roman Emperor, and in his address quoted Xenophanes verbatim. ⁽³⁾

Plutarch's actual criticism (in the Loeb translation) runs as follows:

"Then again, even as we speak of the man who buys the books of Plato as "buying Plato," and of the man who represents the poems of Menander as "acting Menander,"

(1) The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford (1950) (Xenophanes), p. 962.

(2) Plut., De Iside 378 F ff.

(3) The Works of Aristotle, trans. Ross, W.D., Oxford, 1924, Vol. XI, Bk. II, 23, 1400b, 26, 4.

(4) Julius Firmicus Maternus, De errore probanarum religionum, Fr. trans. Heuten, Gilbert, Bruxelles, 1938, VIII, 4, p. 64.

even so those men of old did not refrain from calling by the name of the gods the gifts and creations of the gods, honouring and venerating them because of the need which they had for them. The men of later times accepted this blindly, and in their ignorance referred to the gods the behaviour of the crops and the presence and disappearance of necessities, not only calling them births and deaths of the gods, but even believing that they are so; and thus they filled their minds with absurd, unwarranted, and confused opinions although they had before their eyes the absurdity of such illogical reasoning." (1)

Although Plutarch is referring here to the crops and fruits of the earth, there can be no doubt that the Egyptians' identification of water with Osiris was considered by him just as reprehensible, and here it seems that by "the men of later times" Plutarch means the Egyptians of the Ptolemaic period. True as it is that to buy the works of Plato and to represent the poems of Menander does not logically mean to buy Plato himself or act Menander himself. This kind of reasoning instanced by Plutarch is childish, and no one nowadays believes that the Egyptians, at any rate of the Ptolemaic period, really did this. As we have noted, the identification is purely a ritual one recalling the doctrine of

(1) De Iside 379 A-B.

transubstantiation, as will be discussed later. ⁽¹⁾ Sometimes it is said that Osiris gave them the Nile to live on and sometimes that he was the water they drank. The identification of Osiris with the Nile is emphasized by Plutarch, who expounds the god's life in physical terms, thus: Osiris (i.e. the Nile) or his efflux unites with Isis (the earth) and begets Horus (plants), and even when he cohabits with Nephthys, Typhon's wife (the outermost barren land), a child, Anubis by name, is born of him, the whole Osirian legend thus interpreting the god's fertilizing power and his attribute as a giver of life. ⁽²⁾

The relation between Osiris and water is also set out by Plutarch and confirmed from Egyptian mythological sources. The god's birth was associated with water. On the first epagomenal day, according to a Theban tradition, ⁽³⁾ he was born at Thebes, and at the very moment of his birth "a voice issued forth saying, 'The Lord of All advances to light'" (*ο κύρων κύρος εις φως*), an event which an interesting text by Ptolemy VIII on the Second Pylon at Karnak almost literally preserves. This connects the god's birth with Thebes, not only as his birth-place but as the primeval

(1) Infra, pp. 313 ff.

(2) Plut., De Iside 363 D- 365 B, 365 F- 366 C.

(3) Ieps., Denkm. IV, 29 b; cf. Brugsch, DG 865; Hopfner, Theodor, Plutarch über Isis und Osiris, Prag, 1940, Part I, pp. 21, 23, 29.

land of the Great Nun, the cosmic principle of humidity. After a lengthy account of the importance of Thebes, the text says that it is

"The cradle of Onnōphris, where he shone forth into light, the primeval land of the Great Nun. (mshnt n Wn-nfr wbn.f m sw im.s s3tw.n tp-c(n) Nww wr)"⁽¹⁾

The same god, according to other versions of his legend both early and late, met his doom by drowning, and where his body was in the end found, his votaries, on the nineteenth of Athyr, to quote Plutarch again, when celebrating that memorable occasion, poured into a golden coffer some drinking water from the Nile, "and a great shout arises from the company for joy that Osiris is found."⁽²⁾

These two incidents no doubt indicate that Osiris is nothing but water. And since water is so important an element in life, it was no wonder if those who revered Osiris as such were said (as Plutarch recalls) to have refrained from destroying any source of water.⁽³⁾ This is also a reason why the Egyptian deceased aspired to drink Osiris, and meant water. In other words it is Osiris who gives him the Nile, moisture, or "himself" (i.e. water) to drink in

(1) Drioton, Ann. Serv., XLIV, 126-27; as to Osiris' birth by Nut see Pierret, Etudes égyptologiques, Paris, 1873, I, p. 33.

(2) Plut., De Iside 366 F.

(3) Ibid., 365 B.

order that he may live. Though the approaches seemdivers and illogical, yet the end is one and the same, and, from the ritual and cosmological standpoint, reasonable as well.

Thus Osiris is water that revives one, by the performance of Egyptian ritual lustration, once one has drunk of it or bathed in it. To the Egyptian's mind divers things may embody one single idea, or a number of places may embrace one object. Thus, for instance, the cosmogonic idea of the navel of the earth may be found expressed, as we shall later see, in the emergent hilly parts of a certain flooded town, in an island on earth or in heaven, in a river or sea, in a tomb or a sanctuary, and even in a king's throne. Osiris, too, may be fancied dwelling in various kinds of trees; his interment and drowning are said to have occurred in sundry places all over Egypt; libation may be performed by water, milk, wine or even blood, all of which may puzzle modern minds, which, alleging that the Egyptian's religious conceptions are full of contradictions, may not realise that the Egyptian's mythopoeic mind was mainly cosmological in its trends, preoccupied with such universal matters as creation, fertilization and revivification. That is why, when thinking of Osiris as water the Egyptian thinks of it in general, its sorts, its localities, and of other distinct liquids which all do the same cosmogonic function. Therefore Osiris may be regarded as fresh or brackish water, the water of a pool, a lake or a river, sea or ocean. In other words he may be

identified with the Nile or the Mediterranean Sea in which sea, according to one tradition, Horus bathed his dead father to bring him back to life. Like the fresh water of the Nile, it is his water or efflux that must return to him to revivify him. The deceased kings, who are identified with Osiris, and whose glorifications are sure in the Pyramid texts, are "green", "the Great Encircler", and their name is "the Great Green" encompassing the Nbwt (i.e. the Aegean Islands); the deceased king or Osiris is also great in his name of "Ocean":

"Ó Osiris Piopi,) thou art green, thou art great, in thy name of Great Green (i.e. Sea). Lo, thou art great, thou curvest round as the Great Encircler. Lo, thou turnest about, thou curvest round, as the (1) circle that encompasseth the Nbwt."

In a libation-formula in the tomb of King Amenophis I, the King is shown bathing in the Mediterranean, equated with Osiris, to be reborn there as the sun-god had been born in Nun or the Heliopolitan sacred pool:

"Thou comest forth from the embrace of thy father Osiris; thy life is made in him. Thou art in health therefrom, from this cool water which issued from thy

(1) Pyr. 629, trans. Blackman, Rec. trav. XXXIX, 62, 72-3; cf. Pyr. 847, 1631. On the Nbwt see Gardiner, Onomastica I, pp. 206-08, and Mercer, Pyramid Texts II pp. 307-09, n. 629 b.

father Osiris at the eastern side of the Great Green (Sea),
the circle which encompasseth the Nebut. Thou livest on....
(?) east, come from the eastern side of the Great Green
(Sea)...."⁽¹⁾

In a Demotic Magical Papyrus that sea is described as

"the great sea, the great sea of Syria, the sea of Osiris;
there Osiris was found on the papyrus-boat (called Thn);
Isis was at its prow, Nephthys behind him and at his feet
male and female divinities."⁽²⁾

Moreover, Plutarch tells that Osiris, having been locked up
in a richly decorated box at his brother's banquet, was thrown
into the water, and travelled as a drowned victim on the
Mediterranean, till the waves washed him onto the shore of Byblus,
an event which was commemorated in classical times by the people of
Byblus.⁽³⁾ Lucian (c. A.D. 115-c. 200) relates that not only was

(1) Blackman, op. cit., p. 72; cf. Daressy, Ann. Serv., XVII, 109.

(2) Col. VI, ll. 30-32 = Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 50.

(3) Plutarch asserts that the Egyptians assigned the sea to Typhon (De Iside 364 A), and that they hated salt, since it was the "spume of Typhon" (Ibid., 363 E) and so refrained from using it in their food (Ibid., 352 F) and abstained from eating sea-fish (Ibid., 363 F). There is no other reference to such taboo in the minds of the Egyptians, and no Egyptian lore thereabout is extant to prove these outlandish views. (Parmentier, L., Recherches sur le traite d'Isis et d'Osiris de Plutarque, Bruxelles, 1913, pp. 31 ff).

On the contrary, salt, and particularly natron, was offered to the deceased to chew in such rites as those of the Pr-dw3t =

Osiris venerated in his time, but also his head - of Byblus or papyrus - every year swam for seven days in the sea, driven by the wind, "Be governaunce of the Goddes, and it torneth, not asyde in no wyse but cometh all only to Byblos." Lucian says that he saw that head when he was in Byblus (fig. 2).⁽¹⁾ Consequently, in later times drowned persons were apotheosized and venerated.⁽²⁾

When Isis had taken Osiris' box and put it on her boat, the tradition states, she sailed from Byblus, taking with her Maneros, the elder son of the King of Byblus. The child fell into the sea and was drowned, but was honoured by the goddess. This perhaps explains why he has his name sung by the Egyptians at their festivals, and given to the city of Pelusium founded by the goddess herself.⁽³⁾

Apart from Osiris' close association with water in general, and in particular with the Mediterranean Sea, the sources of the Nile

= and the "Opening of the Mouth", so that his mouth might be "the mouth of a sucking calf on the day of his birth" (Pyr. 27, JEA V, 156; X, 58, 119), and that he might praise his god with a pure mouth. It was also added to lustral water to enhance its cleansing property, and in both cases, the deceased became pure and lived again as a god (Pyr. 25 a=765 b. See Ernest Jones, Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis, Vol. II. Essays in Folklore, Anthropology and Religion, London, 1951, pp. 22 ff.). Salt was also an important ingredient in the embalmer's workshop, used for the mummification of the dead.

Ritually the sea was Osiris' water or his "putrefaction that came forth from his body."

(1) Lucian, Dea Syria 7, pp. 344/45 (ICL).

(2) Infra, pp. 277 ff.

(3) Plut., De Iside 357D-F; Herodot., II, 79; Pausanias, IX. 29. 3; Athenaeus, 620 A.

itself were thought of as springing from his body. According to very early tradition, the Nile sprang from a pair of caverns located - long after first-hand knowledge of the topography of the land had disproved this - somewhere in the vicinity of the First Cataract at the extreme South of Egypt, either at Bigeh, or Elephantine, or Philae according to different authorities.

Osiris' body is said to have been buried at this place and from his body the Nile came forth. A certain myth relates how Isis, with her sister Nephthys who so frequently accompanied her, made a search for their brother's body and, having found it, hid it in a distant place lest Seth (Typhon) should lay hold of it and destroy it again. (1) Isis buried him in the southernmost part of Egypt and at the same time distributed parts of his body amongst the various towns with the intention in the first place of misleading his murderer from his true tomb and, according to the latest version of the tale, Isis celebrated a funeral in each of the towns in which she found a portion of her husband's body in order that there should be no accusation of favouritism. Yet rivalry still broke out among the principal towns of the country such as Sais, Busiris, Memphis, Abydus, (2) Elephantine and even Heliopolis, (3) each claiming Osiris' tomb. Now although

(1) Plut., De Iside 358 B.

(2) Ibid., 359 B.

(3) According to a Ptolemaic text Horus buried his father Osiris in Heliopolis:

"Thou art he who tread the grave of his father in Heliopolis beside Re^c, lord of H(w)t-bnbn."

(Edfou, VIII, 7, 14); and it was he who "drove the calves in Heliopolis"

Osiris had many tombs he had no large temples dedicated to him, merely a few small and scattered chapels attached to temples of other deities and deceased kings. This lack of sanctuaries is characteristic of cosmic deities.⁽¹⁾ The different claims, however, show very clearly how the popularity of Osiris, who seems to have appeared for the first time as a god in the Egyptian pantheon about the middle of the Old Kingdom, had continually increased, until it had reached its climax about the time of Plutarch. His story was then familiar and his Mysteries were performed all over Egypt. This clearly indicates his Nilotic nature, and this is due to his personification as the Nile-god and creator of the land and his capability of perpetuating the flow of water to ensure the smooth course of life and the observance by his people of his rites.

Hence Osiris' burdensome responsibilities not only as an autochthonous but also as a cosmic divinity.⁽²⁾ He and his body, must be identified with the sources of the Nile, and it would, therefore, be improper to place his tomb at any locality below the traditional source at the First Cataract. The Egyptian's imagination would put it there, at the southernmost end of the known world. A second mythological explanation of the annual flood of the Nile was that it was caused by

= in the Ceremony of "Driving the Calves" (Hwt Bbsw) to hide his father's tomb from his foes. Blackman-Fairman, JEA XXVI, 79-80; (text), op. cit., XXXV.

(1) Sethe, Urgeschichte, p. 57; cf. Frankfort, H., and Others, The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, Chicago, 1948, pp. 20-23.

(2) Plut., De Iside 364A-B; cf. Ibid., 364E- 365B.

the tears of Isis for Osiris. (1) Even if the Egyptian, however, tried to step out of the domain of mythology, he still could not give a completely accurate interpretation of the geographical cause of the Nile flood when he said that it was caused by rain falling on Nubia. He imagined the sky as a ceiling upheld by four pillars set up at the four cardinal points, and gave to these certain designations. (2) Since we are at the moment concerned with the southern pillar only, that marked out at once the end of the world and the sources of the Nile, it would be well to deal here with that alone. This most southerly point conceivable was called variously "the top of the earth" — ✓(Wpt t3)⁽³⁾ "a very high mountain", a "very high mountain in the hrt ntr, or two very high mountains. (4) In that actual mountain Osiris dwelt and from under his feet the inundation flowed. (5)

"The King of the south and the north, Autokrator has come to thee, Osiris, great god, lord of Bîgeh, august idol in "The High Mountain" that he may bring to thee

(1) Infra, pp. 30 ff.

(2) The sky is also represented as a cow whose four legs are these four pillars. Cf. Mercer, S.A.B., The Religion of Ancient Egypt, London, 1949, pp. 22, 39-40.

(3) Tuthm. III, Urk. IV, 587; cf. Maspero, The Dawn of Civilization, London, 1901, pp. 16- 9.

(4) Chass., Bull. Inst. fr. III, 152.

(5) Pierret, Études égyptologiques, I, p. 27.

the Nome of Antaeopolis⁽¹⁾ in obeisance to the terror
of thee; and laden with the provisions which it contains.⁽²⁾

And thy son Horus is dancing for joy after (repelling) the
evil of The High Mountain, because the inundation hath come
forth from under thy feet, from the divine body, that thou
mayst nourish the Two Lands."⁽³⁾

This text is one of a series accompanying which in late temples
the various nomes of Egypt are shown bearing offerings to the King or
Roman Emperor. That it refers to the tenth nome is obvious from its
position, and the tenth nome is well-known as containing a "High
Mountain" at Antaeopolis. The reference to the emergence of the
inundation from beneath the feet of Osiris and the mention of "The
holy district" along with Dw K3 are equally obvious, yet it seems
strange that this reference to the source of the inundation in the
first nome should be mentioned here. It would seem that even as many
towns strove to claim the burial ground of Osiris, so the inhabitants
of the town of Dw K3 would with local patriotism have hastened to
identify their own "High Mountain" with that associated with the
sources of the inundation and with Osiris.⁽⁴⁾ When Isis, as has been

(1) Gard., On. II p. 61* and 60*; Chass., Mammisi, 60.

(2) Cf. Frankfort, H., Kingship and the Gods, Chicago, 1948, pp. 30 ff.

(3) Chass. Bull, Inst. fr. III, 154; cf. also Gard., On. II, pp. 58* - 61*.

(4) Stranger than this is their belief that the sources of the Nile were
at Pi-Ha^cpy ("Atar al-Naby" أَتَارُ النَّبِيِّ) and Kher-^caba (Old Cairo
خَرْبَةُ الْمُتْبَقَةِ) and that the god of that part of the Heliopolitan nome is the Nile-
god Ha^cpy according to Chap. 150 of the Book of the Dead (Cf. =

pointed out, secretly buried Osiris at Bigeh in order to conceal him from his wicked and murderous brother Seth he became the prince of that island, and this place is described as "the mound which is hiding the corruption which it contains; it is the tumulus of Osiris."⁽¹⁾ Thus the sources of the Nile in Pharaonic times were thought of in connection with the god's tomb, and the locality was described in the Graeco-Roman period as a hilly piece of land too holy for any except the priests to approach. It is the Abaton ("Ἄβατος") "the rock which divides the river in two" in Seneca,⁽²⁾ "the Holy Field" on an island near Philae in Diodorus,⁽³⁾ "the sacred island by Philae" in Plutarch⁽⁴⁾ and "the Asylum of Osiris" in Strabo⁽⁵⁾

= Piankhi Stele, I. 102). Moreover from the Mound (^{13t}) of Kher-aha flowed the inundation with plentiful provisions for the country (Bk Dead 149 - Mound XIV). Thus two sources were believed to exist for the river: one in the south at Bigeh, marking the beginning of Upper Egypt, and the other in Heliopolis, curiously replacing the Memphite nome as the first conventional nome of Lower Egypt. Gard., On. II, 133* ff.

(1) Infra, p. 183.

(2) Quest. nat. IV, 2.

(3) Diodorus I, 22.

(4) Plut., De Iside 359 B.

(5) Strabo XVII, C 803 :

"A little above Saïs is the asylum of Osiris, in which the body of Osiris is said to lie; but many lay claim to this, and particularly the inhabitants of the Philae which is situated above Syenê and Elephantinê (cf. Diodorus I, 22, 3); for they tell the mythical story, namely, that Isis placed coffins of Osiris beneath the earth in several places (but only one of them, and that unknown to all, contained the body of Osiris), and that she wished to hide the body from Typhon, fearing that he might find it and cast it out of its tomb."

and this double source was named ^{o = ▷ (1)} krty "the two caverns,"
both of which were incorporated into the two mountains ^{◁ = ▷ (2)}
The district from which it was pretended that the Nile flows is
also called kbhw, a word derived from the root kbh "pour water",
which the characteristic sign  depicts, and a term also applied
to the libation vase for the same reason. Thus the water contained
in the libation vase may have come to be thought of as proceeding from
the source, Osiris. It is the "exudation" of his body ^{.. ↗ (3)}  and
this is the reason why a libation vase is sometimes impressed with
Osiris' name to show that the poured water has issued from Osiris, and
that it has come forth from kbhw, the god's residence (cf. fig. 1).
Therefore it is said that Osiris "makes Egypt to live with his
exudations,"⁽⁴⁾ and that the inundation "comes to thee (Osiris) with
thine exudations."⁽⁵⁾

In the relief reproduced in fig. 3, a scene in the temple of

(1) Wb. V, 58.

(2) Wb. II, 69, 6; Pyr. 2063-66.

(3) Pyr. 1283, Eb. 60, 18 etc.; see Wb. II, 469, 6;
P. Louvre 5188; P. Boulaq No. 3 - Maspero, Mémoire sur
quelques papyrus du Louvre, pp. 34, 99-10; Bibl. égyptol., VII, 383; Roeder, G., Der Tempel von
Dakke, Le caire, 1930, Vol. I, p. 219; Düm., Geogr. Inschr.
III, 3; Leps., Denkm. III, 129, 1. 7; Reinisch, Aegyptische
Chrestomathie, Pl. 9, 1. 7, b.

(4) Palanque, Ch., Le Nil à l'époque pharaonique, Paris, 1903, pp. 17-8.

(5) Pierret, Études égyptol., p. 40.

(1)

Philae, the inundation-god is encircled in his hiding-place by a snake, which nevertheless does not presumably impede the flow of the water. This reptile surrounds the sources of the Nile, krt, and its picture is occasionally used as determinative or ideograph by the word krt. (2) (3)

From the foregoing discussions we can draw two principal conclusions about the Egyptians' ideas of the inundation: firstly that it was largely connected with Nun the sun-god's Primeval Waters appropriated by Osiris, and secondly that it was connected with the sources of the Nile (3) in the caverns and rocks called krt and mnty where Osiris' decomposing body was hidden.⁽⁴⁾ In comparing now the creation-story and the tradition of the source of the Nile, it is possible to see how Osiris, in his quality of the principle of humidity, has played his rôle in creation.

The scene (cf. fig. 3) suggests the primal panorama of creation,

(1) Junker, H. Das Götterdekret über das Abaton, Wien, 1913, pp. 37 ff.

(2) Exx. Ddm., Geog. Inschr. (Denderah) III, 3; Bibl. égyptol., VII, 382.

Nun

(3) The relation between the sun-god as creator of/and the inundation as created by him in the Underworld is expressed in a sun-hymn of ^CAmânah as follows:

"Thou makest the inundation in the Netherworld,
Thou bringest it as thou desirest,
To preserve alive the people....
The inundation, it cometh from the Netherworld
for Egypt."

Breasted, Development, p. 327,; A History of Egypt, London, 1906, 374-5; _____, De Hymnis in solem sub Rege Amenophide IV conceptis, Berlin, 1894, pp. 52-6; Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, London 1908, Part VI, p. 30, (Text) =

a high rock above a cavern, as if it were emerging from the waters of the Underworld Abyss,⁽¹⁾ and two birds. To begin with, these two birds stand, in our view, for the first creator assuming the shape of a bird, though the presence of two birds is hard to explain. It may be that the falcon represents the creator, and the vulture his mother.⁽²⁾ However this may be, the presence of two birds may be irrelevant, so long as it be admitted that the creator is one of them, here a falcon.

The creator-god, it will be remembered, came out of Nun the Primeval Waters, stood on a mound of land, created the Universe, and ruled it thereafter with justice. He also assumed a number of forms of flying creatures such as a goose, a pelican, a falcon, and a heron, b(i)nw,⁽³⁾ that is to say a phoenix (figs. 4, 5, 6) known in classical literature as a fabulous bird which appeared at the end of

= Pl. 27, ll. 9-10; Budge, Fetish, p. 407.

(4) Cf. Junker, op. cit., pp. 37 ff.

(1) Ibid., p. 37.

(2) Neith, the goddess of Sais(?) (fig. 7); Burgsch, Religion, pp. 114-15.

(3) Rundle Clark, R.T., The Legend of the Phoenix, in the University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Vol. II, No. I, 1949, p. 11; ZAS XLV, 84; Pyr. 366, 1652, Bk Dead 179, ll. 10-22

periods of 500 or of 1461 years.⁽¹⁾ As soon as he came into being, he flew in the firmament as a new creature coming forth from and untouched by darkness and chaos below, heralding a newly-created Universe and a new era,⁽²⁾ and his voice then was the first sound ever to be heard. At last he perched on his new earth. The phoenix is, therefore, the manifestation of the creator, and is sometimes shown sitting on his primeval hillock, conventionalized as a pyramidion (bnbn).⁽³⁾ So too in some variants of the sign  , ideograph of b^chi "be inundated, have abundance," the pole on which the bird alighted is replaced by an obelisk, another form of the pyramidal bnbn-stone, as if he were staying high above the waters to act as a harbinger of good tidings.⁽⁴⁾ There is thus good reason to think that the phoenix or heron can stand for a welcome messenger of the inundation, and its representation whether perching on a rock, a pole, or a tree would mean that a new period of time was at hand, in this case the Nile-flood season.

(1) Herodot., II, 73; Philostr., 134.

(2) Rundle Clark, op. cit., pp. 111-12, 114, 117, 130-32; Horapollo, Bk I, Hierogs. 34, 35; II, 57.

(3) Pyr. 1652.

(4) Cf. Bk Dead 85.

Therefore Osiris, too, who was water and so was assimilated to the inundation-god, came to be identified with this bird.⁽¹⁾ In the relief in question, as already noted, two birds are represented, one the falcon, a form of ^{the} sun-god, and the other the vulture, presumably his mother. They seem to stand high above the Under-world of Nun, darkness and chaos, and at the same time bring good news of the flood. The cavern is Nun's habitation, the source of the river. Nun is absorbed by Hapy, and in him Osiris is in turn absorbed. The inundation-god is represented in his traditional form sitting in the cavern holding two vases from which two streams of water come forth. He is also seen surrounded by a snake.

What does the snake in the cavern imply? It has proved to some Egyptologists to be a riddle exceedingly difficult to solve. Yet if we consider the cosmogonic ideas of the Western Semites and compare them with those of the Egyptians we shall be able to come to a solution of this interesting problem. Before we proceed, we should first of all bear in mind the cosmogonic picture of the Primeval Mound on which the first creator sat as if it were his throne, to create and then reign, and the abysmal waters of the Underworld below, a subject which has been

(1) Bk Dead 17; Junker, op. cit., pp.1-4.

extensively dealt with by De Buck in his Egyptische voorstellingen
(1) betreffende den oerheuvel (Leyden, 1922). In the religions of the Western Semites, the Babylonians, the Hebrews, and the Arabs, the basic idea of creation is almost the same - chaotic waters, an emergent piece of land, the navel of the earth, and a creator whose (2) throne is on those waters. The navel appears encircled by a snake or a watery monster of some kind, called Tiamāt, Leviathan and "al-Khadjudj" in the religions of all these peoples, just as water appears there as surrounding the earth. The snake is described as a stormy wind, called in Meccan traditions "Sakinah" and "al-Khadjudj", upon which the Meccan sanctuary was built. It is also

(1) Cf. also De zegepraal van het licht - Voorstellingen en symbolen uit den oud-egyptischen zonnendienst, Amsterdam, 1930, pp. 49-53.

(2) This rising land, the navel of the earth is Mecca, the Meccan sanctuary (or Ka'ba) or the mountain of Mecca (جبل مکة), "a hill of red clay, not being submerged by the floods" (جبل حمراً) "Ibn Abbas said, 'When before the creation of heaven and earth the divine throne was on the water, Allah sent a soft wind which drove away the water so that on the spot of the House of God there appeared a protuberating dry spot in the form of a cupola' (عَنْ أَنْبَابِهِ أَنَّهُ تَأَلَّ لَمَّا كَانَ الْعَوْرُ عَلَى الْمَاءِ' " قبل أَنْ يَخْلُقَ اللَّهُ السَّمَاوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ بَعْثَ اللَّهِ رِيحًا هَفَّةً فَمَنَقَّتِ الْمَاءُ فَابْرَزَ عَنْ حَشْقَةٍ فِي مَوْضِعِ الْبَيْتِ كَانَهَا قَبَةً

The altar of Jerusalem or Mount Sion is the navel and so is the Babylonian Ziggurat: "The world has been created beginning from Sion,"...."and the whole of the rest of the world afterwards," which quite literally agrees with the Moslem traditions: "The earth was created by Allah on the place of Jerusalem, (خلق الله الأرض) and which was also taken over and applied by the Moslems to Mecca described as having existed before heavens and earth were created.

The navel of the earth thus incorporated in these sacred places assumed the shape and function of the Divine Throne set on the water:

"And his throne rested upon the water." (كان عرشه على الماء)

(1) identified with the ocean. The watery nature of the snake must somehow explain its presence in the Egyptian representation. Either it represents the water, or as the mention of snakes in some Egyptian creation stories may be thought to imply, it may represent the first living things created, the ancient mind having some dim perception of the nowadays accepted principle of evolution, that snakes and creeping things are a more primitive stage of creation than men. It is probably no coincidence that in the Hermopolitan cosmogony of eight primitive creator-gods, for four males have heads of serpents, and the females those of frogs. These two characteristics of the snake as wind and as ocean are not alien to Egyptian cosmogony. In the Pyramid texts it appears to be intimately connected with creation and especially the watery abyss, and in late Theban texts

= Wensinck, A.J., The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning The Navel of the Earth, Amsterdam, 1916, pp. 38-41, cf. pp. 14-8, 21-2, 24, 27-8, 54, 60.

(1) "Then Allāh surrounded it by a serpent.... this serpent wound itself round the throne and the latter reaches to half the height of the serpent which is winding itself round it." **فطوق الله بحية . . . فالتقت الحية بالعرش الى نصف الحية وهي ملتوية به**
Round Solomon's throne was also "a silver serpent." Ibid., pp. 62-3.

mention is made of a snake which in spite of its name Kamephis (Bull of his mother), has, like all cosmic divinities, no parents, and is, like the "Sakinah" or "al-Khadjudj", associated with wind, and even, like the latter, named "the Oldest of the Winds" (smsw iwn(w)).⁽¹⁾ Its dwelling is the Primeval Waters of the Underworld, of which it appears to be a cosmic symbol in the story of creation.⁽²⁾ For these reasons the snake is strongly related to the primeval waters, where the Nile-god dwells, where Osiris' corruption is preserved, and which are, therefore, his tomb. This is vitally important since it throws a flood of light upon the relation between the tomb and earth-navel and throne.

(1) Sethe, Amun und die acht Urgötter, Pl. II, 5-8.

(2) Rundle Clark, op. cit., pp. 118-19; cf. Wensinck, op. cit., p. 64. In its form of Apōphis, too, the snake is the symbol of the darkness beneath the earth which the sun overcomes each day (fig. 8). Moreover, it is the "Dragon of Outer Darkness," with its tail in its mouth, which surrounds the Christian Amente or Cosmos. Scott-Moncrieff, Paganism and Christianity in Egypt, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 165 ff; 178-79; Horapollo, Bk I, Hierog. 1, with fig. 3. We have seen that the Egyptians located the northern sources of the Nile in Heliopolis in a hilly place i3t called the "Field of Kher-aha." (Supra, p. 19, n. 4). From a serpent there flowed the inundation. Besides, mention is there made of the serpent of the southern sources at Elephantine:

"There is a serpent in the double cavern krty of Elephantine at the mouth of Ha^cpy and he cometh with water...." Budge, Bk Dead, 149, p. 272.

Osiris' tomb is in the primeval waters in the Underworld, and there also is his kingdom and throne, and there he reigns as the king of the dead. This is illustrated in a vignette of the Greenfield Papyrus⁽¹⁾ reproduced here as fig. 9. Here we see Osiris enthroned. The throne is in the form of steps and is one and the same as his tomb and the primeval hill; it is accompanied by a snake, the representation of the abysmal and primeval waters.

Thus Osiris, resident in the sources of the Nile, absorbs into his own cult the fundamental ideas of the Egyptian creation-story, the conceptions of Nūn, of the navel of the earth, and of the creator himself. Further consideration will be given to these ideas at a later stage.

(1) Budge, Greenfield Papyrus, Pl. 108; cf. also Piankoff, A. Les deux papyrus "mythologiques" de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire, in Ann. Serv. XLIX, 173 ff. Pl. 12.

CHAPTER II

ISIS' TEARS

We have seen how Osiris was identified with the Nile, how he was immanent in the inundation, and how he partook of the construction of the Universe as one of the four cosmic elements, water. In mythology a single phenomenon may take several forms which may however embody one and the same natural object. So it is with the Nile-flood. So far we have seen this interpreted in terms of Osiris' mutilation, his burial on the island of Bîgeh and and the emission of his excretions. In this case Isis is the lady "whose husband is the inundation of the Nile."⁽¹⁾

But the annual inundation could also be ascribed to Isis, first as the shedder of many tears and secondly by identification with the star Sothis. Osiris wife never parted from him: she was always loyal to him in his lifetime and remained unforgetful of him after his death. The love of these two was ideal and immortal⁽²⁾ since it was sincere and uninterrupted by death. Egyptian texts teem with references to the

(1) See the titles of Isis in Brugsch, Thes. 102, 217-19 = Budge, Osiris II, p. 278.

(2) In ancient Egypt, the sincere desire of lovers was always to enjoy love as ardent and ideal as that of Isis and Osiris. In their mundane affairs they swore even by "the heart of the son of Kronos (Geb) (i.e. Osiris)", and by means of incantations they might be able to shun fickleness and disharmony in their amorous relations. "Osiris," says the Demotic Magical Papyrus, "gave his blood to Isis so that she might love him in her heart day and night and at all times without ceasing." Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 31; cf. also Pyr. 2192.

constancy of Isis' love, and in later times the story of Isis and Osiris was expounded in the light of Plato's Theory of Ideals. (1) It is the warmth of emotion that largely accounts for the wide propagation of their cult abroad after its obsolescence at home. Their love found expression in the goddess' constant attendance on and yearning for the god, wherever he went, maintaining such a relationship as is explained by Plutarch as Isis' incessant longing for the First Being, the Perfect, the Beautiful and the Good. (2) When Osiris died and his body was scattered here and there, Isis spared no effort to find him and bury his limbs, and over them she shed such tears as were, in her own case, an undoubted token of deep love. (3)

She wept while searching for him, and after she found him she wept more and more. No sooner did she hear of his death at the hands of his brother, than she shrieked and tore her hair, and began to search for him forthwith. In Byblus she sat at a well in the King's

(1) Plut., De Iside 374 B-E; 383 A.

(2) Ibid., 352 A, 372 E-F; 383 A.

(3) Pyr. 12, 872, 898, 1750, 1973, 2192.

garden, again weeping, and speaking to no one. Indoors, in the night, she changed herself into a swallow, and soared about the column which enfolded Osiris' box, still weeping for him. On her arrival home, "she opened the chest and laid her face upon the face within and caressed it and wept."⁽¹⁾ She wept also at seeing her son, in the form of a hippopotamus, being vanquished by his uncle Seth, in similar form, when they fought for the crown.⁽²⁾ One other event, too, became the occasion for Isis' tears, that of Horus' sexual violation of his mother, an incident recorded in the Harris Magical Papyrus:

"Behold! Horus rapes his mother Isis,
and her tears fall into the water."⁽³⁾

Not only did Isis weep, but her worshippers did also, out of love and admiration for the goddess and pity for her departed mate. Indeed they lamented for both her and Osiris: they wept for the goddess who had lost a beloved companion,⁽⁴⁾ and mourned for the god with whose

(1) Plut., De Iside 357 D.

(2) P. Chester Beatty, I, 8, 11.

(3) Chabas, Papyrus magique Harris, Pl. VII, ll. 8-10; Lange, Der magische Papyrus Harris, København, 1927, pp. 61-3. Cf. Düm., Tempelinschr., I, 32; Piehl, Inscr. II, 47, 0.; Rochem., Edfou, I, 390. This incident can be traced back to the Middle Kingdom, see Lange, Ein liturgisches Lied an Min, in Sitzungsb. Berlin (München, etc.), Berlin, 1927, pp. 331-38.

(4) Infra, p. II5.

(1)

death such good things as crops and the Nile disappeared.

Plutarch says, "At the time of the winter solstice they lead the cow (Isis) seven times around the temple of the Sun and this circumambulation is called the Seeking for Osiris, since the Goddess in the winter time yearns for water (the Nile, Osiris⁽²⁾)."

It was in the tears of Isis that her devotees placed every hope for the return of Osiris the Nile-flood.⁽³⁾ It is she

"who maketh the Nile to swell in his season."⁽⁴⁾

It was she who lifted the Nile from its sources or cavern at the beginning of the year.⁽⁵⁾

On the other hand, if we look at the return of the Nile-flood from an astronomical and calendrical angle, we shall find that the Egyptians noticed that the rising of the Nile approximately coincided with the annual reappearance in July of a star known to them as α Spdt, Sothis, to us as Sirius, the brightest star in the Constellation

(1) Cf. Plut., De Iside 366 E.

(2) Ibid., 372 C.

(3) Plut., De Iside 366 E, 372 C-D; cf. Lefébure, L'arbre sacré d'Héliopolis, in Sphinx V, 84-5; Antoniadi, E.-M., L'astronomie égyptienne depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la fin de l'époque alexandrine, Paris, 1939, pp. 74-7; 108-10; Tibullus, I, VII, 21-2. (LCL)

(4) Brugsch, Mériaux, p. 30 = Budge, Osiris II, p. 278.

(5) Proc. SBA XIII, 6-7. Brugsch, op. cit., pp. 11 ff.; Glanville, The Legacy of Egypt, Oxford, 1947, p. 3, n. 2.

Sothis, the brightest of all the stars, rose above the eastern horizon just before sunrise on July 17-19 at Heliopolis and Memphis. It was usually invisible, owing to the power of =

of the Greater Dog. The coming inundation makes itself felt in July likewise, and its rising was conceived by the Egyptians as the point of departure of the new year. At the same time Sothis is mythologically Osiris' sister, and hence the identification of Sothis with the soul of Isis (Isis-Sothis).⁽¹⁾ Thus it is said,

"It is Sothis, thy daughter, thy beloved, who has
made thy year-offerings in this her name of Year."⁽²⁾

= the sun, but at this particular time of the year, the sun dropped back from it causing it to shine with unusual brightness. This was approaching the time of "conjunction", when sun, star and earth were in line.

The lunar year was based on Sothis, its annual heliacal rising marking the beginning of the lunar calendar. This event was called wp rnpt, "Opener of the Year", after which the year began with its first day called tpy rnpt. Wp rnpt was therefore the last or the twelfth month of the year. In the 5th or 4th millennium B.C., the Egyptians observed the coincidence of its heliacal rising with the rising of the Nile, and so considered the star as a harbinger of the Nile-flood, and a good starting-point of a lunar calendar. However the interval between successive floods was markedly irregular, making imperative some measure of intercalation.

See Parker, Calendars, pp. 7, 31-2.

- (1) Pyr. 341, 357, 363, 929, 935, 1707, 1123, 1561; cf. Plut., De Iside 359 D, F; 366 A; cf. Diiodorus I, 19, 27; Photius, Bibliotheca, 440 b.
- (2) Pyr. 965; Prof. Parker (op. cit., p. 32) and I follow Junker's translation (Giza, III, 111-13; IV, 27), which is not different from Mercer's translation, Pyramid Texts I, p. 172; Wb. II, 432. 6; Pap. 5158 du Louvre; Pap. no. 3 de Boulaq = Maspero, Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, Paris, 1875, p. 41, 80; cf. Horapollo, Bk I, Hierog. 3.

And

"Years are reckoned from her shining-forth."⁽¹⁾

Sothis is likewise called "the bringer of the inundation at the
(2) New Year"; "the mistress of the New Year, who pours forth the
inundation at its season"; ⁽³⁾ and for her "the primeval water pours
forth to inundate the fruitful earth?" ⁽⁴⁾ = (bsi n.s Nnw r iwy (w) 3ht)

She is represented in Egyptian Zodiacs as a woman with a star on
the head, standing on a dog, or as a cow in a boat with a star on the
head⁽⁵⁾ (fig. 10). Sothis is thus identified with Hathōr, with whom
Isis was in turn assimilated.⁽⁶⁾

Isis was considered as the creatress of the three seasons of the
(7) Egyptian year. Her cosmic nature has entitled her to the rôle of

(1) Mar., Dend. I, 19 g = Brugsch, Thesaurus, p. 100 = Parker,
op. cit., p. 33.

(2) Mar., Dend. I, 33: Junker, Götterdekret, p. 38.

(3) Budge, Osiris II, p. 278; Parker, op. cit., p. 34 with fig. 15.

(4) Leps., Denkm. IV, 69; Brugsch, op. cit., p. 31; cf. Pliny,
Nat. Hist., Bk V, X, 56.

(5) Maspero, Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient, pp. 96-7;
80-87.

(6) Chabas, op. cit., p. 10; Mercer, op. cit., pp. 4, 25, 269 f.

(7) shpr.n.s 3ht prt sum = Brugsch, op. cit., p. 45.

Sothis, "the lady of the beginning of the year - nbt tp rmpt."⁽¹⁾

From the Old Kingdom till our modern times, Isis' tears for her murdered brother and husband have had an association with the Nile-flood. Isis is well known as the "Weeper", and in ritual ceremonies when embalmment is performed on statues representing Osiris, these are lamented during the performance of the rites by priestesses dressed as Isis and Nephthys. In a lamentation from the Ptolemaic period Isis dolefully sings:

"I flood this land (with tears?) to-day."⁽²⁾

According to Egyptian traditions Isis used to weep at a certain time each year, four days before the beginning of the summer solstice, before the Nile began to swell. She began to weep on a night called nowadays "the Night of the Drop," "Lailatu 'n-nuqta" (ليلة النقطة). The Pyramid Texts are our oldest recorded reference to this, and it is not far from probable that there it is called

"the night of the great flood (grh pw n 3gb wr) which proceeds from the Great One (i.e. Isis)."⁽³⁾

(1) Brugsch, op. cit., p. 26.

(2) P. Bremner-Rhind 3, 16, trans. Faulkner, JEA XXII, 124.

(3) Pyr. 265 e. On 3gb meaning "inundation" see Pyr. 701 c, 707 a, 120 a, 499 a, 507 a, 508 a, 551 b, 1173 a Speleers, Comment...., p. 70 = Mercer, Pyramid Texts II, p. 123, n. 265 d-e.

In later times it was known as

"the Night of the Tears" (of Isis) - grb n hōty."⁽¹⁾

And just as tears flow from the eyes and fall on the ground, so the Egyptian's fancy saw in the inundation drops or a drop of water descending from the sky into the Nile on this night.

"(When) Isis strikes with her wing, she closes the mouth of the river the water sinks; the water rises (when) her tears fall into the water."⁽²⁾

But her tears are not this time caused by her deep grief for her brother Osiris; she was assaulted by her son Horus.⁽³⁾

The Egyptians, according to a common Roman story told by Pausanias, believed that when Isis was mourning at a certain time of the year, she wept, and her tears fell into the Nile and swelled it.

"At this time (i.e. when Isis grieves for Osiris) the Nile begins to rise and it is a saying among many of the natives that what makes the river rise and water their fields is the tears of Isis."

(1) Brugsch, Thes., pp. 293-94; cf. Renouf, Proc. SBA XIII, 9.

(2) Chabas, op. cit., VII, 9-15, p. 102; cf. Pyr. 1140.

(3) Supra, p. 32.

It was a miracle beyond curiosity, and the desire for divulging its secret or proving its truth might be fatal. (1) ***

(1) Pausanias, Bk X, XXXII. (ICL)

As far as Egyptian religion is concerned, it seems that the Greeks in Egypt were more respectful than the Romans. Whenever Herodotus spoke of Osiris' ritual embalmment, Mysteries or sepulchres, he always stated that it would be improper of him, if not impious, to mention even the god's name. (Herodot., II, 61, 86, 132, 170, 171; Sourdille, Hérodote et la religion de l'Egypte, Paris, 1910, pp. 1-26.)

The Egyptians, of course, behaved in the same manner. They often refrained from naming Osiris. (See Moret, Ann. Mus. Guimet, XXXII, Pl. 63, p. 136; Drioton, Ann. Serv. XLIV, 152, 153.)

The Romans seem to have been incnsiderate. The Roman governor of Egypt in Pausanias' story was so curious that he wanted to see if the story of Isis' tears and the inundation was true. He therefore sent an Egyptian into her temple at Coptus to see the tears of the goddess. "The man," says Pausanias, "despatched into the shrine returned indeed out of it, but after relating what he had seen, he too.... died."

*** Since Roman times there have existed in Egypt two religions, Christianity and Islam. Though both religions tried to abolish the pagan beliefs and customs, yet thesedid not entirely die out. Despite the ban imposed upon them, they were followed and observed. The reason is simple: whatever pertains to Nature remains with it; Nature and life are forever united. The Nile was necessary for the existence of the Egyptians; it has never died, but carried with its water popular myths and tales from the undisturbed past to the new generations that dwell in its valley. So people had to interpret them in such a way as to avoid conflict between old ideas and new beliefs. Thus it is that the story of Isis' tears, though in a different attire, survived both among the Copts and the Moslems alike, because it is a tradition attached to the Nile. With the coming of Christianity, the myth was Christianized and in its later days in Egypt and abroad acquired a moral value no less than did the Osirian myth itself. It is related that on the IIth of Pauni (June, 17 in the Coptic Calendar) the Copts used to celebrate the "Feast of the Drop", and that on that date St. Michael prostrated himself before God for three days, praying that He might send rain to ward off famine and to purify the air. In the end a drop fell from heaven into the Nile, which thereupon began to rise. Meanwhile St. Michael went here and there waving his spear as if fighting an invisible evil demon, and with the fall of the drop his prayer was answered and his victory, symbolising the triumph of good

= over evil, proclaimed.

Later on this rite was observed side by side with other Christian rites, its pagan background being forgotten. In the same way, in Moslem times the other Nile Festival of "Cutting the Dam" ("Khalîg") was celebrated along with the properly religious festivals, and though in reduced form, it is still observed. The "Night of the Drop" was preserved by Egyptian folklore of the XIXth century, and the Cairenes, as well as the rest of the inhabitants of the country, watched on the IIth of Pauni for the drop, and practised other superstitious customs. On that day, housewives placed as many pieces of dough as there were members of their families on the tops of their houses. The next morning if those pieces were found with a crack on them, that meant good luck. Besides, the people saw in those cracks good portents of a plentiful Nile.

Lane, E.W., The Modern Egyptians, London, 1944 (Everyman's Library), pp. 495-96; also see Klunzinger, C.B., Upper Egypt : Its People and Its Products, London, 1878, p. 184.

CHAPTER III
CREATIVE WATER

In this chapter, we shall now investigate the water-role played in creation by the sun-god and Osiris' relation to it. From the foregoing discussions we have seen that the origin of life was thought to have been in water. Not only do our religions nowadays admit it, but the very ancient religions, especially the Egyptian, point to this fact. ⁽¹⁾ Life emerged from it "at the first time" and in case of its cessation it could be regained. The creator-god created first himself, then other gods, men, animals, and the rest of the world from it. There was one creator-god, but he had various names and forms with various homes at different times. Thus the creator was variously Atum (or Atum-Re^c from the Fifth Dynasty on, ⁽²⁾ then Re^c and later Amenre^c), Ptah, Thoth, Khnum and Osiris, all these being considered as primal gods in Heliopolis (later in Thebes, where the two Heliopolitan and Hermopolitan theological systems were amalgamated), ⁽³⁾ Memphis, Hermopolis, Elephantine and Abydus respectively. They were all created from the primordial waters as well as being creators from them, and each was sometimes personified as Nun and

(1) "And we have made of water everything living" حى كل شى من الماء. Al-Koran, Part XVII, chap. XXI, Section 3: "The Prophets", trans. Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Lahore, 1920, p. 647. See also Frankfort, Kingship, p. 233, n. 6.

(2) Pyr. 145; 152-160; cf. 213: 1686, 1694; cf. Rusch, A., Die Stellung des Osiris im theologischen System von Heliopolis, in Alte Or., XXIV, 6.

(3) Mercer, op. cit., pp. 283-85.

sometimes identified with water. In all these places and with all these gods the medium of creation is water.

We are now in a position to discuss in more detail how Osiris came to assume the rôle of creator.

The question of creation, which we have been studying up till now, is first and foremost attached to various aspects of the sun-god, such as Atum, ^{Re^c}, and Amun. Before him the Universe was a chaotic watery mass from which he raised himself by his own will, ⁽¹⁾ emerging from it as an egg to stand on a risen land, the Hill of Hermopolis. ⁽²⁾ According to the Hermopolitan system, he was raised by Nun who was immanent in four pairs of male and female deities, namely Nun and Naunet (Primordial Ocean and Space), Huh and Hauhet (Infinity and Boundlessness), Kuk and Kauket (Darkness and Obscurity), and Amun and Amaunet (the ^(fig. 11) Hidden and Concealed Ones). ⁽³⁾ They formed the chaotic waters of Nun, and from their inside they lifted the creator-god. Having emerged, he had to create for himself something to stand on, and this was the hill which is

"the mound that emerges (lit. raises its head)

(1) Pyr. 1248, 1587, 1652; cf. Kees, Aegypten (Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch) Tübingen, 1928, p.1.

(2) De Buck, A., De egyptische voorstellingen betreffende den Oerheuvel, Leiden, 1922, p. 37; JEA X, 187. Harris Magical P., Recto VI. 10-12; Brugsch, Grosse Oase, 26, 22 f. = Kees, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

(3) Frankfort, Kingship, p. 151.

out of the water of Re^c ,⁽¹⁾

and so became the navel of the earth. There he did his task of creation. The creator created himself with his own hands without having been created by any other god, since nothing save chaos had existed before him. Amongst innumerable expressions of this idea one may perhaps mention the following:

"Divine one, who didst come in the beginning; there was no one before thee, who didst create thyself with thine own hands."⁽²⁾

and

"Thou hast illuminated the earth from darkness when thou didst arise from the primal waters; men and gods came forth after thee."⁽³⁾

He needed no female counterpart to beget the other gods; there was none with him. They simply emerged from him and were thus parts of his body.

"The great god existing of himself, he is water, he is Nun.

The father of the gods, who is he? It is Re^c , who created himself."⁽⁴⁾

(1) De Buck, op. cit., p. 71 with n. 1.

(2) P. Berlin 3049, XIII. 6; cf. P. Leyden 350, 4-9 = Gardiner, ZAS XLII, 32 = Holmberg, The God Ptah, Lund, 1946, p. 58 = Kees, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

(3) P. Berlin 3049, VIII-3.

(4) Bk Dead, 17; cf. P. Bremner-Rhind, 26. 21 ff = Faulkner, JEA, 172; Ibid., 28, 21 ff. = JEA XXIV, 41.

Some texts say that he created the gods by spitting out Shu (air-god) and Tfēnet (moisture-goddess, his consort) and that he embraced them to give them his Ka, his vital force.⁽¹⁾ From these came out Nut (sky-goddess) and Geb (or Gebeb, earth-god, her husband). Shu separated Nut from Geb and upheld Nut high in the sky. Of Geb and Nut were born the other gods who lived on earth with the people, Isis and Osiris, Nephthys and Seth. From the former was born Horus, who was not, however, regarded as a member of the solar pantheon.⁽²⁾ Finally mankind came into being, and by the beginning of the Thinite period, the Great Ennead of Heliopolis psdt ^c3t had been formed, and Osiris was a member of it.⁽³⁾ Hence Atum-Rē^c is called "the Creator", "the Begetter of the Gods", "the Maker of His Own Body" and "the Light of the World",⁽⁴⁾ and Nun calls him "Thou god that art greater than he (Nun) who made thee."⁽⁵⁾ It is worth noting that it is Geb to whom Atum gave the earth and the

(1) Pyr. 1642-53; cf. Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 66, 153; _____, The Intellectual Adventure, pp. 53-4.

(2) P. Bremner Rhind, 27. 4-5 = Faulkner, JEA XXIII, 172; Ibid., 29. 5-6 = JEA XXIV, 41-2. Mercer, op. cit., pp. 277-78; Weill, Le champ des roseaux et le champ des offrandes dans la religion funéraire et la religion générale, Paris, 1936, p. 109.

(3) Pyr. 1655; cf. Diodorus I, 13; Plut., De Iside 355 D-F; 356 A; Rusch, op. cit., pp. 6 ff.

(4) Mercer, op. cit., p. 127.

(5) Destruction of Mankind, 10.

gods to preside over,⁽¹⁾ and Egypt to be given to Osiris and his son Horus after him.

Atum-Re^{-c} is also believed by others to have created the gods by masturbating, taking the semen into his mouth:

"Atum created by his masturbation at Heliopolis.

He put his phallus in his fist,
to excite pleasure thereby.

The twins were born, Shu and Tfenet"⁽²⁾
The sun-god fashioned them from his own seed⁽³⁾ as he had done with himself "at the first time." In a hymn from the New Kingdom the creator's seed plays an important part in creation:

"Hail to thee, eldest one who gave birth to the gods when thou alone hadst created thyself, who didst fashion the Two Lands when thou hadst shaped (nbb) thyself from the seed (o3) of thy body, when thou hadst formed (hnm) thine own frame (dt), there being no father of thine who begot thy form, no mother of thine who bore thee."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Pyr. 1623, 1645; Rusch, op. cit., pp. 8 f.

(2) Pyr. 1248 (see Mercer's translation and commentary in his Pyramid Texts I, p. 206; III, p. 621); cf. 1818; cf. Budge, Osiris II, p. 330; P. Bremner-Rhind, 29, 2-3 = Faulkner, JEA XXIV, 41; cf. also Moret, Mystères égyptiens, Paris, 1927, pp. 114-15, n. 1.

(3) Sethe, Das Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie der Schabakosteine des Britischen Museums, 1928, pp. 57 ff.

(4) P. Berlin 3049, IV. 10.

Yet since on the other hand other texts assert that the creator created from the chaotic waters of Nun, we should infer, if we consider these various interpretations, that through saliva, semen, and water a new life is procured. The similarity of seed and saliva would have struck the mind of the ancient theologian. Both could be imagined coming out of the mouth, as is clear from a New-Kingdom dramatic text in the Cenotaph of Sethos I, which combines the ideas of spitting and masturbating.

"Atum says: 'This is that which came forth from my lips and what I spat (psg?) into my hand, which was a female (1) organ of generation.' "

These three basic creative elements are predominant when the idea of creation occurs, not only in the Egyptian literature but also (2) in foreign parallel lore.

Just as Atum is the father and mother of men, so is Osiris, since he looks after them by providing them with himself in the form of water to drink and bread to eat. This is one aspect of Osiris which identifies him with the creator, the life-giving Atum.

(1) Frankfort, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, London, 1933, II, Pl. 85, l. 41; Pyr. 1248; Mar., Abydos I, Pls. 21, 39 b; Chass., Mammisi, 69, Pl. 20 (text behind Horus).

(2) Infra, pp. 129 ff.

"Thou art father and mother of men; they live on thy breath, they (eat) the flesh of thy body. Primordial one of the Two Lands is thy name."⁽¹⁾

Until now we have seen that Atum created himself from "nothingness", "chaos", ⁽²⁾ and that the other divine beings came forth from his body, or were created by him. It would be illogical to conceive of the creator-deity, particularly when thought of as the sun-god, as doing his duty and forthwith vanishing. He is above death, yet death is inevitable, a fate to which men, and even gods in the Egyptian conception alike must submit. ⁽³⁾ He must overcome it by rebirth.

Accordingly he is everyday reborn in the same way as he was born "at the first time." By rising at the horizon he is said to be reborn after

(1) Ramesside Theban Ostracon = Erman, ZAS XXXVIII, 51-3; Orientalia VII, 355 ff; Kees, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

(2) $\chiέσ$ means by definition:

- {1} the first state of the universe
- {2} space, the expanse of air
- {3} the nether abyss, infinite darkness, darkness
- {4} any vast gulf or chasm

Liddle and Scott say that the sense points to $\sqrt{\chi\alpha}$ (cf. $\chi\alpha\kappa\omega$, $\chi\alpha\nu\gamma\iota\nu$) "a yawning abyss." But those who followed the Stoics derived it from $\chi\iota\omega$ "to pour" of liquids, so that to them $\chiέσ$ meant "water". Cf. Scholiast to Hesiod. Th. 116 $\omega\varsigma\omega\tau\iota\sigma\iota\alpha\chiέσ\gamma\acute{e}\nu\tau$; $\omega\acute{a}\tau\acute{a}\acute{e}\pi\iota\pi\alpha\tau\acute{a}\acute{e}\pi\acute{e}\rho\acute{e}\nu\tau$ Also Plutarch 2 955 E.

(3) Cf. "The Cannibal Hymn" in Pyr. 399-412; Infra, pp. 238ff. Moreover, if the sun-god will not receive the Osiris deceased in his celestial kingdom, then

"The earth, it shall speak no more, Geb shall defend himself no more. If King N. finds anyone by the way, he will devour him piecemeal. The great god (Osiris?) will arise."

Pyr. 277 c-278, trans. Sander-Hansen, Über die Bildung der Modi,

washing in the lake of the Field of Reeds (sht-i3nfw) in the east of the sky.⁽¹⁾ That lake is a replica of Nun, and it is actually called Nun in some texts.⁽²⁾ As it is called the "Begetter of Millions" (Wm-n) wherein Re^c dwells,⁽³⁾ its water may be regarded as the god's semen from which he and his son Pharaoh, and the other gods and the multitude of men emerge new-born.⁽⁴⁾ Its water is that which endows them all with a new birth. The lake also had, at least by the 25th Dynasty, its counterpart on earth, an artificial lake between Heliopolis and Kher-^caha, in which the pious Ethiopian King Pi^cankhy washed in the course of his triumphal progress to Lower Egypt.⁽⁵⁾ Hence the profound significance of lustral washing

= p. 17, and not by Sethe, Übersetzung und Kommentar Bd. I, p. 298; see Rundle Clark, op. cit., I, pp. 26-7 with n. 68. Also see Seth's threat to the Ennead. Infra, p. 270, n. 3.

- (1) Pyr. 519, 1247, 1421; cf. 275, 525-29, 918, 920, 981-89, 1408-15, 1132-37; cf. also Weill, op. cit., pp. 74-9.
- (2) Junker, Stundenwachen, p. 67.
- (3) Bk Dead 17, ll. 48-50.
- (4) Blackman, Proc. SBA XL, 89.
- (5) Pi^cankhy Stele, 101-2; Pyr. 211; Bk Dead 169, l. 19 f.

and purification with water drawn from the Nile. Atum is daily reborn and Osiris resurrected: here again we have a point of similarity which leads to the identification of the two gods. This tendency can be traced even as early as the Pyramid Texts. That this fusion was not effected without opposition from the protagonists of the two theologies may be reflected in the fact that Osiris never added to his own name that of Re^c as did other local gods who, by a process of syncretism, and sometimes with far less reason than did Osiris, were later also raised to the rank of creator. Such are Amun at Thebes, Mont at Hermouthis, $Sebek$ ⁽¹⁾ in the Fayyum, and Khnum at Elephantine (figs. 12, 13, 14, 15).

Re^c , having stood on the Primeval Hill "at the first time," rose and set out on his diurnal journey. When rising, he is fancied to appear on the hill to illuminate the Universe, his own creation. The Egyptian verb for "to rise" "to appear gloriously" ($h^c i^s$) is mythically and symbolically significant: its characteristic sign Ξ represents a rounded hill from which rays stream up, the Primeval Hill beneath the sun (figs. 16, 17).⁽²⁾ This became the symbolic mound of a new life.

(1) See the two hymns to $Sebk-Re^c$ and Haroëris in De Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte ancienne, Kom Ombos II, p. 292, No. 939, Pl. p. 295; cf. Junker, H., Ein Doppelhymnus aus Kom Ombo, in ZAS LXVII, 51-5.

(2) Consequently the Hermopolitan theologians call it "the Island of Flames". Cf. Pyr. 265; De Buck, op. cit., p. 41; Frankfort, Kingship, p. 154.

During the inundation season the Nile waters cover the whole of the Nile valley save only for the highest portions. These are mainly the mounds upon which towns and dwelling-houses are built, and these protrude above the flat expanse of water like islands, which with the gradual subsidence of the flood, emerge like Atum's hill; and with this, therefore, the Egyptian associated the annual rebirth of the country. Here again is an association between Atum and Osiris, the god of
(1)
resurrection.

Another association between the two gods is found in the calendar of ancient Egypt. The last month of the Egyptian lunar year, the month which also opened the new year, was called Mesore. It was also

(1) Drioton, Ann. Serv. XLIV, 111 ff., 135; Macadam, M.F.L., The Temples of Kawa, London, 1949, Vol. I, Pl. X (Plates), p. 27 (Texts); Herodot., II, 97; Diodorus I, 36; Seneca, Nat. Quest., IV; Porphyry, de antro nympharum 24; Solinus, Polyhistor 32. 12-13 = Parker, op. cit., p. 47. De Buck, Zegepraal, pp. 49-53; Vikentiev, V., La haute crue du Nil et l'averse de l'an 6 du roi Taharqa, Le caire, 1930, pp. 30, 62, 41; Daressy, Une inondation à Thèbes sous le règne d'Osorkon II, 1. 2-3, in Rec. trav., XVIII, 181; Budge, Fetish, p. 198, 386, Mercer, op. cit., p. 28, n. 3; Frankfort, The Intellectual Adventure, pp. 60-61; Vandier, J. La famine dans l'Egypte ancienne, Le caire, 1936, pp. 46, n. 1, 123; Klunzinger, C.B., Upper Egypt, pp. 126-27; Sourdille C., La durée et l'étendue du voyage d'Hérodote en Egypte, pp. 8-11; Lefèuvre, G., La fête du Nil à Achôris, in Bulletin de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie, no. 18, pp. 49, 52; Heliodorus, Aethiopica IX, 9, 2-3; Thévenot, Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant, Paris, 1664, chap. XXII, p. 301; Palanque, op. cit., pp. 84-5; Lane, op. cit., pp. 499-505.

called wp rnpt, the "Opener of the Year," since wp rnpt meant the heliacal rising of Sothis above the eastern sky, and thus the last month of the lunar year took its name from the feast celebrated on this occasion. The appearance of this star, as we have already seen, was also associated with the rising of the river.

"Mesore" means the "Birth of Re^c," and it commemorated an important solar event, the moment when Re^c created first himself, and then the world, from chaotic waters. The "Birth of Re^c" and the rising of Sothis thus occurred simultaneously, and served as a harbinger of a new world and a new year with its seasons and months.

Osiris who was said to be the father of Sothis⁽¹⁾, and whose exudations formed the inundation could therefore assimilate himself with the cosmos, since his own resurrection in the form of inundation was timed to coincide with the "Birth of Re^c (Mesore)," the moment of creation, and could similarly function as an "Opener of the Year."⁽²⁾

A third association may be seen in the Egyptian's attitude to his tomb. As far as death and new life are concerned, a tomb in the same way represents the Primeval Hill. The Egyptian believed that he died in order to live again without a second death - a thing

(1) Pyr. 965. See Mercer's commentary in his Pyramid Texts II, pp. 491-92.

(2) See Parker, Calendars, p. 47.

(1) absolutely abhorrent. The Egyptian's tomb was the place wherein he gathered all that he hoped was conducive to a new life. The scenes on the walls, the magical texts, the furniture and utensils prepared for use in the next world were all there for this purpose. It followed that under the supremacy of the sun-cult the tomb assumed the form of the Primeval Hill, this being architecturally expressed in the pyramid, just as it was also architecturally expressed originally in solar temples but later in temples of all deities, by obelisks. Such pyramids, though of smaller size, continued to be erected as superstructures over tombs long after the funerary beliefs looked to Osiris for the resurrection. This also reflects a fusion of Osiris with the solar creation myth.

A noteworthy architectural expression of the fusion of these beliefs is shown in the peculiar cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydus, long known as the Osireion. Here a sarcophagus was placed on an artificial island reached by a double stair and surrounded by water filled from the subsoil and rising and falling with the inundation. (2) Here we have an architectural expression of the creator's throne on the

(1) Cf. Bk Dead 44, 175-76.

(2) Frankfort, Cenotaph of Seti I, pp. 16-21; cf. _____, The Intellectual Adventure, pp. 22, 45, 50.

Primeval Hill emerging not only from the waters of the first time but also those of the annual inundation, an unmistakable indication of the complete union of the two ideas (cf. fig. 3).

In the solar theology, Nun was the source of creation, and with it were associated, as we have seen, seed and saliva. The same idea was expressed by the Memphis in their theology of the god Ptah, who according to their ideas took over for himself the main elements of the solar theology. Thus Ptah was identified with Nun⁽¹⁾ and was made, after he had created himself like Atum-Re^{-c(2)}, the father and mother of Atum.⁽³⁾ The notion of the similarity of water, semen, and spittle arose from the wateriness of these things. Logic demands, since the god Ptah was "Nun" or "water", and since the other gods emanated from Ptah, they too partake of wateriness. The connexion in this case, apart from the association of water, could perhaps be through spittle. For if spittle is not actually referred to as a generating factor in the Memphis version of the creation story, at least the mouth itself plays an important part. The emphasis is here on the teeth and the lips of Ptah, which are

(1) Holmberg, op. cit., p. 32; Wolf, ZAS LXIV, 17-44.

(2) Ibid., p. 36.

(3) Ibid., p. 153; Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 29, 152; Mercer, op. cit., pp. 280-82; Frankfort, The Intellectual Adventure, pp. 12-13, 57-8; _____, Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 23.

identified with the seed and the hands with which Atum did his act of creation, and which are also identified with the members of Ptah's company of gods.⁽¹⁾ Thus creation in the Memphite Theology was effected by Ptah's teeth and lips, two important parts of the mouth, and in this case the mouth appears to be the receptacle of semen and saliva, both of which, like water itself, are two mythological media of creation.⁽²⁾ The tongue too plays an important part in Ptah's mouth, for the tongue, it is said, repeats or executes what the heart has first thought out.⁽³⁾ In that the mouth was also said to have named the names of all things by its word,⁽⁴⁾ its creative action was merely verbal. But at least in the Memphite Theology, the gods Shu and Tfēnet came out of it.

Another part of this cosmogonic legend⁽⁵⁾ says that Ptah, as a divine craftsman, created the gods with wood, stone and clay, and other versions say that he created men, too, sustaining them with

- (1) Sethe, Denk. Memph. Theol., l. 55; cf. Mercer, op. cit., p. 279; Junker, Die Götterlehre von Memphis, pp. 17 ff.; Frankfort, The Intellectual Adventure, p. 58; Holmberg, op. cit., p. 122.
- (2) Cf. Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 121-23.
- (3) Sethe, op. cit., l. 56 = Kees, op. cit., pp. 10-11.
- (4) Ibid., l. 55.
- (5) Ibid., l. 59-60.

all that grew on him either in his form of the tnn-land, (t3-tnn) that came out of Nun or in that of Geb the earth-god,⁽¹⁾ with whom he was likewise assimilated.⁽²⁾ As the ruler of the Universe, he furthered, like Re^c and Osiris, the rule of law and recommended love to be shewn to him and righteousness on the part of his followers.⁽³⁾

Both Ptah and Osiris were identified with Nun, and both were also its creators. At times Ptah, like Osiris, was named "the inundation",⁽⁴⁾ and in the form of Ptah-Tatenen provided the Two Lands with provisions and the gods with offerings.⁽⁵⁾ Osiris was identified with the earth, and from his body sprang up corn that fed both men and gods. According to the same Memphite theology Osiris, by his drowning and being buried in Memphis, invested it with fertility that made it rich in corn, so that it came to be called "the Granary of the Two Lands".⁽⁶⁾

(1) Sethe, Dram. Texte, p. 33; Holmberg, op. cit., p. 61.

(2) Mercer, op. cit., p. 279; Frankfort, Kingship, p. 25; _____, Ancient Egyptian Religion, pp. 20-24; Holmberg, op. cit., p. 59.

(3) Sethe, op. cit., l. 57.

(4) Holmberg. op. cit., p. 178.

(5) Sethe, Denk. Memph. Theol., ll. 58-9.

(6) Sethe, op. cit., ll. 61 ff.

Hence the strong bond connecting primal divinities, Re^c, Ptah and Osiris, as being natural and cosmogonic deities who created both water and earth, and from these again gods and men, together with the means to feed them, so that all might live in a world of order, love and piety. (1)

(1) Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 64-5.

CHAPTER IV

SOLAR REBIRTH AND OSIRIAN RESURRECTION

After Atum created the world (so we may reconstruct the Ancient Egyptian point of view) he looked after it with his light, heat and justice as well. Since then he had appeared gloriously (h^{ci}) by day and rested by night, first accomplishing his diurnal course in the east and later disappearing in the west so as to rise again in the morning. These two places of sun-rise and sun-set were fancied by the Egyptian as two heavenly fields: the eastern field named the "Field of Reeds" (sht-i3hrw), and the western one the "Field of Offerings" (sht-htpt).⁽¹⁾ But before he rises, he undergoes certain significant lustration-rites that imitate his first appearance from the chaotic ocean of Nun as self-creator and cosmic god, his rising being regarded as a repetition of his birth. So the sun-god may be said to be daily reborn in the east of the sky and illuminate his world. In his case, to be born or reborn necessitates the presence of water, the refreshing and reviving qualities of which make it the

(1) Pyr. 1086-87, 1133; Bk Dead 110, 11. 1-2; (sht-i3hrw)
Pyr. 275, 343, 519, 525-29, 822, 918, 981-89, 1082-84,
1247, 1421, 1430, 1984-85; CT 159, 11. 367 ff; 161, 1. 388;
(sht-htpt) Pyr. 179, 284, 340-41, 805, 935-36, 1123;
CT 72, 1. 300; Weill, op. cit., pp. 13 ff., p. 73; passim.

indispensable introduction to anew existence, the primeval water of Nun, the water of birth and then rebirth. This is the explanation of the presence, according to the Egyptian tradition, of a lake in the east of the sky with islands similar to the Primeval Hill that the sun-god may stand on them to wash in the sacred lake. Thus in the Pyramid Texts the deceased says, "I purify myself on that 'Riser' (h^c) of land (i.e. Primeval Hill) on which Re^c purified himself."⁽¹⁾

There are also canals and marshes with very bright ḥ3bt- flowers growing and shining in the light of dawn when the sun-god is purifying himself before rising.⁽²⁾ Ablution at day-break, therefore, symbolises rebirth.

In the Old Kingdom, during the supremacy of the solar cult, Pharaoh, after his death and purification,⁽³⁾ was supposed to ascend to the sky to join his father Re^c in the west.⁽⁴⁾ There he worked, ploughed the land, gathered the crops, and enjoyed

(1) Pyr. 542; cf. De Buck, Egyptische voorstellingen, p. 63.

(2) Weill, op. cit., pp. 88-101; cf. Bk Dead, 174, l. 11-12.

(3) Pyr. 733; cf. 127; CT 173, 216; Pyr. 1411; cf. 982-89; Blackman, Purification (Egyptian), p. 478; Lacau, Rec. trav. XXIV, 72; Gardiner, The Attitude of the Ancient Egyptians to Death and the Dead, Cambridge, 1935, p. 13; Grapow, ZAS XLVIII, 100-111; Blackman, Proc. SBA XL, 61; JEA XI, 206; Vandier, La religion égyptienne, pp. 71-2; Gardiner and Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, p. 10.

(4) See the journey of the deceased to the sky in Weill, op. cit., pp. 2, 23, 27-9, 32, 38, 50.

himself as on earth; there he was regaled in the company of the gods with their most sumptuous food, and he even satisfied his sexual appetite.⁽¹⁾ Yet there is another more important aspect of this celestial life. The deceased Pharaoh accompanies the sun in his nightly course "to the eastern side of the sky"⁽²⁾ where the gods will beget him and where he will be born (again) new and young.⁽³⁾ In the eastern horizon, too, it is said, the other gods are born⁽³⁾ and the deceased Pharaoh is reborn there with them. After purification in the Lake of Reeds (i3mrw)⁽⁴⁾ performed upon him by Horus and Thoth,⁽⁵⁾ he accompanies the sun in its glorious daily course.⁽⁶⁾

The eastern horizon is the place of rebirth, and the Lake or Field of Reeds, there also called the "Mother of Millions" and the "Seed" or

(1) Pyr. 123; Bk Dead 110, ll. 13-14.

(2) Pyr. 919.

(3) Pyr. 1705-6.

(4) Pyr. 343-44, 352-53, 1180.

(5) Pyr. 519.

(6) Cf. the same rite performed by the same bath-attendants on individuals even in the Roman era. Gabra, S., Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermopolis Ouest (Touna el-Gebel), Le caire, 1941, p. 44, Pl. 13 (2).

"Begetter of Millions", (1) contains the water that symbolises the fertilizing semen to which the Universe, mankind and the gods alike owe their existence.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that the solar cult was, especially in the Fifth Dynasty, of the Old Kingdom the state religion, and that the "Field of Reeds" and the "Field of Offerings" were always appurtenances of the solar religion and not of the Osirian. Yet Osiris did not stand aloof from them. Originally unconcerned with solar matters, since he was mainly concerned with terrestrial life, death, and resurrection, Osiris was nevertheless a member of the Great Ennead of Heliopolis. By the Sixth Dynasty, however, approximately a third part of the Pyramid Texts had been reinterpreted in terms of the Osirian cult, and the struggle between these great divinities as gods of the sky and the Underworld is reflected therein. (2) Under the Old-Kingdom régime, the state religion centred round the person of Pharaoh and his court, and the privilege of performing ablutions in company with the sun in the east of the sky was confined to them alone, Pharaoh being the first to receive it as being the son of the Sun. With the growth of the Osirian cult, and with the social revolution which saw the end of

(1) Todb., 17, l. 20 ff = Urk., V, 23 f; cf. Blackman, Proc. SBA XL, 89 ff.

(2) Pyr. 145-46, 251, 2175.

the 6th Dynasty, the privilege was entirely democratized, and every man, becoming at death an Osiris, could claim the right of the olden kings. The Coffin Texts are nothing but the old royal Pyramid Texts, owned no longer by the nobility of Egypt only, but by her masses, under the leadership of Osiris. The rites did not change, and with but slight difference still played their same rôle in revivification and resurrection. Immortality is, therefore, acquired by employing water ceremonially, by observing rites of lustration at specified times, not only for the king but for his subjects too. By water the deceased's soul and body are reinvigorated like the land of Egypt after being washed in the water of the annual inundation, the exudations of the body of Osiris, which is indeed "the Life of the Soul."⁽¹⁾

"I shall gladden", says Re^c "his (i.e. the deceased's) heart every day and I shall make his soul and his body to live with the water of youth,"⁽²⁾

and

"Egypt is nourished with his exudations."⁽³⁾

(1) Cf. Supra, p. 7.

(2) Wb. II, 433, 25. 6; Daressy, Ann. Serv. XVIII, 219, 222.

(3) Reading Kmt. Cf. the parallel P. Bulaq in Pierret, Études égyptologiques, p. 40; Palanque, op. cit., pp. 17-8.

In the Sixth Dynasty, the star of the state-cult of Re^c began to set, and thereafter the common people had a predilection for identifying themselves after death with Osiris so that they might, like him, enjoy a new life. He, who looked after them as a shepherd his sheep,^(I) was their divine ideal, and his kingly acts were green in their memory. There was nothing celestial about him in this respect, for he had been a terrestrial king. After his murder he had risen again, but had passed on to the Underworld to reign as King of the Dead. It was a common tradition that he met a terrible death and afterwards suffered dismemberment, but that he was brought back to life after the severed parts of his body had been gathered together and re-united. In death his body dried up and water, "the Life of the Soul," was necessary to revive him so that through its refreshing agency Osiris' body might receive back its natural juices, his "exudations," and Osiris might live again.

By the use of water, therefore, in the Osiris rituals of the dead, a body might be given new life, but whereas in the solar rituals water engendered rebirth, here it restored humidity, and so life

(I) Cf. Gardiner, Admonitions, I2, I-6.

itself, to the corpse. Moreover, in the Osirian ritual water is also the agent whereby the severed members of Osiris were re-united. It followed that since every deceased man identified himself with Osiris his limbs were supposed to have been severed also, and re-united by water. Thus the lustral rites were modified in the direction of resurrection instead of rebirth, regardless of the confusion that might be caused by the existence side by side of Osirian and solar ideas in the same rite. It is unlikely that there was much open rivalry between the adherents of the one and of the other deity. The Egyptians were seldom troubled by inconsistencies, and could tolerate quasi-conflicting images with a certain intellectual resignation. Both Atum-Re^c and Osiris were examples of the Egyptians' "multiplicity of approaches to a single cosmic god,"⁽²⁾ and one could, therefore, replace the other, once society had undergone political and religious changes, or both could exist together. Thus, for example, in the Osirian version the attendants of the reviving lustral bath are Isis and Nephthys, both Osirian

(1) Frankfort, Anc. Egn. Religion, p. 19.

(2) Ibid.

characters:

"Thy lustral water is poured out by Isis, Nephthys hath cleansed thee, thy two great and mighty sisters who have put together thy flesh, fastened thy limbs, and made thy two eyes shine in thy head."⁽¹⁾

Their place, however, might on occasions be taken by Horus and Thoth the original bath-attendants of ^{-c}Re in spite of the fact that the deceased's body is identified with that of Osiris. In addition to this the water which was formerly ^{-c}Re's, the Nun of the creation-story, now becomes that of Osiris, his Nile-water and his exudations.

"Utterance for the Purification by Horus and Thoth. To be spoken: 'Horus purifies thee on thine entry into the necropolis: to see the great god in the necropolis; there is no manner of fault in thee. Thoth cleanses thee. Thou art clothed in thy bandages; all thy limbs are furnished with unguent; there is no offence against god in thee; there is no decay in thy body. We purify thee with water that has come from Elephantine with natron that has come from el-Kab, with milk from Athribis."⁽²⁾

(1) Pyr. 1981, trans. Blackman, Rec. trav. XXXIX, 49; and also Horus son of Osiris, Pyr. 1683.

(2) P. Rhind I, VI 1-4, trans. Blackman, op. cit., p. 51.

We will now consider how this process of Osirianization has been applied in the case of some of the main solar rituals such as the rite of "Baptism of Pharaoh", that of the Pr-Dw3t, and the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth."

In the solar religion the deceased in the form of either mummy or statue is recalled to life through rebirth by water.

In the purification ceremony which Gardiner in a recent article⁽¹⁾ has designated "the Baptism of Pharaoh", the King is washed with water by the deities of the four cardinal points, Horus (N.), Seth (S.), Dwn-Cnwy (E.), and Thoth (W.). Of these only two are commonly represented, usually Horus and Thoth. Since these appear in the Pyramid Texts as the bath-attendants of the sun-god in the east of the sky,⁽²⁾ they are solar characters in this connexion, that is to say, Horus here is Horus-the-Elder (Hr wr), the celestial Horus, whose eyes are the sun and moon, while Thoth was the divine scribe and messenger of the Ennead of Heliopolis. Seth and Dwn-Cnwy do not appear in the references of this purification ceremony in the Pyramid Texts, which are the oldest authority. They do appear indeed in Pyr. 27 (Utterance 35) in a formula accompanying a rite of incense-

(1) JEA XXXVI, 3 ff.

(2) Pyr. 519; cf. Diodorus I, 17; Plut., De Iside 355 F; cf. Supra, p. 58.

burning as noticed by Otto,⁽¹⁾ but that, after all, is another matter. It would seem, therefore, that at least in so far as the morning ablution of the sun-god was concerned, the bath-attendants were not deities of the four cardinal points, but only two; and that since undoubtedly in cases where the "baptism of Pharaoh" is associated with the coronation, having become a coronation ceremony, four deities of the cardinal points are at least implied (cf. the trend of Gardiner's article quoted above). This is a later development connected with the notion of disseminating the news of the coronation to the four quarters.

The solar origin of the rite is emphasized by the example at Karnak where Sethos I is purified by Horus and, as it happens, Seth. The legends make the bath-attendants recite the following formula:

"I purify thee with (the water of) life and dominion (W3s)
that thou mayst grow young like thy father ^cRe, and make
Sed-festival like Atum, being arisen gloriously (~~—~~⁸)
as prince of joy."⁽²⁾

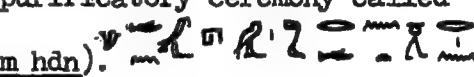
According to Blackman⁽³⁾ this lustration ceremony formed part

(1) Thot als Stellvertreter des Seth, in Orientalia VII, 69 ff.

(2) Leps., Denkm. III, 124; cf. Proc. SBA XL, 90; trans. Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

(3) JEA V, 148 ff.

of the daily ritual performed by Pharaoh or by an officiating priest in his stead. This ritual was performed in the early morning in a special toilet-chamber (Pr-dwȝt) or "House of the Morning", attached to the temple (originally the sun-temple) before the god's image. After the lustration (of which the examples quoted by Gardiner are, according to him, special instances concerned only with the coronation rite) the King is fumigated with incense and given balls of natron to chew so that his mouth may be as pure, in the words of the Pyramid Texts, "as the mouth of a sucking calf on the day it was born,"⁽¹⁾ that he can praise his god with a pure mouth.

After the performance of the daily ritual, the god's image is returned to its shrine, which Pharaoh closes and then leaves. While he is leaving, he performs a certain purificatory ceremony called "the Bringing of the Foot." (int rd m hdn).  In the representations of this rite he is seen going out either turning his head towards the image of Amun or bending while walking out without looking at it, dragging in either case a bundle of hdn-plant. Magically it is he himself who is driven out of the temple by this

(1) Pyr. 27 d; also P. Berlin 3055 XXV, 6-8 = Moret, Rituel, p. 207; so "Opening of Mouth," Episode 6 = Davies, Rekhmire^c, Pl. 106, bottom rt.; Drioton, Le texte dramatique d'Edfou, Le caire, 1948 = Ann. Serv. Cahier No. 11 - p. 84; Blackman-Fairman, JEA XXIX, 12, n.e.

plant lest he should pollute the holy place. We shall no more be surprised once we have understood why Pharaoh who always purifies himself before officiating before the god⁽¹⁾ now appears as a source of pollution, making his dismissal from the temple, therefore, desirable if not inevitable. He is ritually regarded as a filthy demon threatening the purity of the temple and therefore he has to be hauled out by the hdn-plant, this being sacred to Thoth, who, with his sympathetic magic wards off demons, and protects a sacred place from them. Hence Pharaoh plays in this rite two distinct parts simultaneously - he impersonates both Thoth and demons. That the main purpose for the performance of this rite, as Griffith and Blackman assert, is to sweep the foot-steps of Pharaoh or his priest officiating for him is now utterly invalid.⁽²⁾ Eventually he is born again (and so every day) after performing the ablution, with a new body.

In the same ritual the god's image undergoes the same rite. It is sprinkled with water, dressed in coloured insignia and given a meal.

(1) Calverley, Temple of Sethos I at Abydos, II, Pl. 29; JEA XXXV, 85 with n. 3.

(2) Gardiner-Davies, Tomb of Amenemhet, pp. 93-4; Blackman, JEA X, 56. See Nelson, H., The Rite of "Bringing the Foot" as Portrayed in Temple Reliefs, in JEA XXXV, 82-6.

The rite is likewise performed by the two impersonating priests (1) (cf. fig. 18). The use made of water here has the same connotation of rebirth as it has when used at the burial of the King. When Pharaoh dies, he is embalmed in the embalmer's workshop (w^c bt = "the Place of Purification", or pr-nfr = "the last House") (2) where he is washed and put in shrouds before being buried. Here the water is Nün, the sun's primordial water, which does not only endow him with new life but also transforms him into

(1) See Rec. trav. XXXI X, 59, n. 3, 63-4, 68; JEA X, 56, 16; Rec. trav. XXXVI, 6 ff.; Blackman, Temple of Bîgeh, p. 28; Erman, A Handbook of Egyptian Religion, pp. 44-8.

(2) I base my translation on the existence of the compound prep. nfryt-r = "as far as", the embalmer's workshop being in fact the "last house" to which the deceased man comes before he is entombed. Besides, the designation of the tomb as pr-nfr gives much support to our view. The pr-nfr as a "Balsamierungsstätte" was assimilated to the w^cbt, (Junker, Stundenwachen, p. 66; Blackman in Rec. trav. XXXIX, 67 n. 1.) At death the corpse was embalmed and then buried, but before burial, or ascent to heaven, it must be washed to be pure.

"Fasten together the bones of Neferkerē^c, O embalmer,
cleanse Neferkere^c" (Pyr. 2043)

and

"He ascends to heaven (as a bird), his entrails having
been washed by Anubis." (Pyr. 1122)

The annual enactment of embalming and purification also took place in the tomb. Thus the tomb served as w^cbt and pr-nfr at the same time, i.e. the last place the deceased would occupy before interment. See the figure of the tomb called pr-nfr in Wilkinson, Manners II, 123. Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, p. 19*, No. 118. 4, reproduced here as fig. 19.

Atum's son. Afterwards, in the tomb, his body is inaccessible and its lustral washing becomes impossible. So libation is adopted: water being poured out to revive him at a distance.

Out of the rite of the Pr-dw3t is developed another important rite called the rite of "Opening the Mouth" (Wpt-r3).⁽¹⁾ It is performed on the deceased's statue, and water again plays the same rôle.

The ritual is known in several versions, yielding many divergences. In all something over a hundred different episodes have been recorded, though no one version contains all of them. These have been carefully studied and numbered by T.J.C. Baly in JEA XVI, 173 ff. Very briefly the series of episodes may be described thus, the numbers of the episodes in brackets being those applied by the last-mentioned writer. The statue stands on a mound of sand⁽¹⁾. Four priests representing the four lustral gods of the four cardinal points perform the rite. They sprinkle the statue with water so that its owner may come to life again (3-4a) (figs. 20, 21), and then give it ten grains of natron (fig. 22) and five balls of incense to purify its mouth (5, 6) (figs. 23, 24). The statue is afterwards

(1)  = Wb. 1, 300, 6.

fumigated with incense, (7, 8, 8a) (fig. 25). These preliminary rites are solar purification rites, as have for long been (1) recognised as such as may be seen from comparison with the rituals described above.

After these solar preliminaries there follows the main ritual itself (episodes 9-46). First come rites which, according to Moret, are a symbolic resurrection, and which Baly, following Frazer (Taboo and Perils of the Soul), considers to be a search for the deceased's soul and its return. (2) The mouth is "opened" by being touched with various instruments (cf. episodes 26-8, 35, 37, 42, 49-51) (figs. 26, 27) or rubbed with milk (3) so as to be able to eat the offerings made to it (episodes 25, 48). These include the foreleg and the heart (or testicles) of two sacrificed oxen. (figs. 32). These episodes are likewise solar in origin. (4) Finally (episodes 52-89) come a series of solar adornment rites known from the ritual of Pr-dwȝt and the daily ritual, in which the statue or mummy is dressed

(1) Baly, op. cit., pp. 175; 184; Blackman, JEA X, 53 ff.

(2) JEA XVI, 177.

(3) Blackman in JEA X, 55.

(4) Baly, op. cit., p. 184.

in differently coloured clothes, scented with unguent, and painted with eye-paint (fig.33).

These two rites (and others connected with agriculture and therefore to be dealt with later) were Osirianized from the time that Osiris became popular. Firstly the lustral water of Nun, which was Atum's, is now that of Osiris: it is the moisture that has gone from the body of Osiris, and it is the Nile flowing from its sources and also the water of the inundation. Secondly the deceased's limbs have been joined together with it before he rose.⁽¹⁾ Thirdly there is no birth or rebirth as the rite is no more solar, but rather Osirian resurrection. Fourthly, the deceased is no longer identified with Atum or Re^c, the sky-god, but is now fully equated with Osiris, the human god, who did not live in heaven as Re^c-Atum did, but under the earth, in the Underworld, in the West, or in the necropolis. The source of the water is demonstrated in the tomb of Pennē (XXth Dynasty) at ^cAnfah where Thoth addresses the deceased with the words:

"I purify thee with the water of the Sources that
hath issued from the cavern of Osiris."⁽²⁾

The fact that water is capable of uniting the limbs of the deceased

(1) Cf. Pyr. 1907-09.

(2) Cf. Blackman, Rec. trav. XXXIX, 52-3.

is shown in the tomb of Dhuthotpe (XIIth Dynasty) at el-Bersheh. ⁽¹⁾

Two priests wash him with water, and a lector-priest says,

"Join to thyself thy bones.⁽²⁾ What appertaineth
unto thee is complete."

Likewise when a god's statue undergoes ritual washing, water reconstructs him by joining his parts together, these being considered as dispensed because he is now identified with Osiris.

In the solar version ⁽³⁾ this joining episode is lacking. Thus in the version of the daily ritual performed on the statue of Amun at Karnak, the statue is sprinkled with the water of life. He is told,

"join unto thyself thy head, join unto thyself thy
bones, make fast for thyself thy head unto thy bones
What appertains unto thee is complete pure, pure is
Amun, Lord of The Throne(s) of the Two Lands."⁽⁴⁾

This water is considered as Osiris' vital fluid, which left him

(1) Newberry, El Bersheh, Pl. 10 = Blackman, JEA V, 119.

(2) It is possible to take this i^{2c}b as a passive sdm.f.
In taking it as an imperative I follow Blackman's
translation, JEA V, 118.

(3) Supra, p. 61.

(4) Blackman, Purification (Egyptian), p. 479.

on his death. In order that he may live again it must return to him. So therefore it is said,

"Thou (Osiris) art presented with the effluence that issued from thee, and thy heart is not weary when (1) possessing it."

In lustral washing the deceased who is an Osiris, as for example in the tomb of Reneni at ^c^A Anibah (XXth Dynasty), (2) may be seated on a jar which holds his exudations. In the jar water poured out onto him is mixed with what has come out of his body, this being thereby animated, and so he is said to live again. (3) Reneni is washed by two priests (one an embalmer) wearing masks to represent Thoth and Anubis. They purify him "with water coming from Osiris' cavern."

In the embalmers' workshop the deceased's body was to be washed, embalmed, and shrouded, yet before his embalming his supposedly dismembered body⁽⁴⁾ had to be entire and complete. Thus

(1) Pyr. 23; cf. 24; 788.

(2) Rec. trav. XXXIX, 55-6, Pl. 3.

(3) This version of the rite is closely paralleled by the course of action taken in Upper Egypt in modern times by a woman who has had a miscarriage. She puts the embryo in a pan and having added water, bathes herself therein. The custom is reported in almost the same form by Miss W.S. Blackman (The Fellâhin of Upper Egypt, p. 67) with the difference that the addition of water is not mentioned. The addition of water may be a purely practical expedient, but it is not unlikely that the original significance has been forgotten.

(4) Cf. Supra, p. 61.

in Pyr. 2043 we read,

"Fasten together the bones of Neferkere^c, O embalmer,
cleanse Neferkere^c."

This is the Osirian counterpart of the solar version mentioned on p. 56, where there is no mention of joining up the limbs. This lustral washing and embalmment had to be ritually repeated, as we have seen, after burial on the deceased's statue at the "Place of Purification" in each of the hours of the night by two priests representing Thoth and Anubis, the mummy itself being in the grave and therefore inaccessible. The statue, again in place of the mummy, may be offered libations, just as water had been offered to the mummy in the embalmer's workshop before its interment. The water here is of Osirian nature: it is his exudations that should go back to the deceased to revivify him. However since the deceased is identified with Osiris himself, the water is equally well the exudations of Osiris which are given to the deceased, and so by a further extension it is also the water that issues from Elephantine, or Nun, or Nile-water, the life-giver.

"Take to thyself this thy pure water, which has issued
from Elephantine."⁽¹⁾

"Thou hast thy water, thou hast thy abundance; the

(1) Pyr. 864.

efflux goes forth from the god, the exudations that have issued from Osiris."⁽¹⁾

Water may likewise be identified with Horus' Eye, by which Osiris having eaten/^{it}, came back to life. The priest at the fifth hour of the night, offering Osiris a vase of water thus addresses him:

"O Osiris Khentamenthes, take to thee thy head, unite to thee the eye of Horus. I bring to thee that which has issued from Nun, that which first issued from Atum in its name of nemset (nmst). O Osiris Khentamenthes, unite to thee thy head, unite to thee thy bones(?) O Osiris Khentamenthes, the eye of Horus is poured out for thee from the "nemset"-vessel. Horus, take to thee thine eye...."⁽²⁾

Immediately Osiris has received "what has issued from his body" or once he has "united unto him what has issued from him, his heart is no longer exhausted (when possessing it?)."⁽³⁾

(1) Pyr. 788 (Mercer, Pyramid Texts II, pp. 394-95); cf. 1291, 1360.

(2) Junker, Stundenwachen, p. 103.

(3) Junker, op. cit., pp. 114 ff.

"This is thy cool water, O Osiris; this is thy cool water,
O Onnos, which hath issued from before thy son,.... Horus.
I have come; I have brought to thee the Eye of Horus
that thy heart may be refreshed when possessing it....
Take to thyself the exudations which have issued from thee.
Thy heart shall not be exhausted when possessing it."⁽¹⁾

Thus the deceased, by receiving his libations, recovers Osiris' exudations. In them he also receives his spirit. On a libation table of a deceased lady named Tahabit (T3hbt), the goddess Nut gives her libations to drink, and her words throw a flood of light on the connexion between libation (water), exudations and soul:

"Speech by Osiris" T3hbt",⁽²⁾ justified, born of the lady (T3) sr̥it Mnw, justified: 'Take unto thyself thy libation for thee. Thou hast thy spirit (Bai), thou hast thy libation. Receive (ssp ?) thyself the exudations which have issued from Osiris!"⁽³⁾

(1) Pyr. 22-3; cf. 10, 43, 47, 72, 450-51; CT 64; Moret, in Ann. Mus. Guimet, XXXII, 137, Pl. 63; cf. "the Eye of Horus" = the inundation, in Maspero, Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, Paris, 1875, p. 79.

(2) In this text the lady is referred to by the masculine suffix because she is an Osiris. This point receives attention later, Infra, p. 206, n. I.

(3) Ann. Mus. Guimet XXXII, p. 135, Pl. 63.

As to the rite of "Opening the Mouth", it has also been Osirianized inasmuch as the deceased is identified with Osiris. In this rite incense, as we have seen, ⁽¹⁾ is used, and this too can be identified with the Eye of Horus, ⁽²⁾ the latter being in turn identified in lustral washing with water or Osiris' exudations.

(1) Supra, p.69.

(2) So, e.g. Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemh t, p. 107.

That to fumigate the deceased with incense means to purify him is attested by the oldest religious texts of the Pyramids. Having ascended to the sky to live with his father Re the deceased is purified there by the goddess Kebehw t "who approacheth him with these her four nmst, jars, wherewith she refresheth the heart of the Great God (i.e. the Osiris King).... who(also)refresheth the heart of N. therewith to life, she purifieth N., she censeth N." (Pyr. 1180-81; cf. also 127, 750, 864, 2066; CT 173, 199, 202, 203, 216.)

In the rites of purification "Pouring out water onto the earth"  is very often accompanied by "Making a burning of incense" (= fire and incense)  which rites are commonly represented side by side on the monuments as   and performed by the king or his officiant, the priest.

Sethe, Dram. Texte, II, ll. 43-44; pp. 147 ff., ll. 91-96, pp. 203 ff.; Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemh t, pp. 77, 98, 107; cf. Virey, Ph., Le tombeau d'Amenemhet, Paris, 1891, p. 250, in M m. Miss. fr. V; Le tombeau de Pehsukker, in op. cit., p. 298, fig. 10. Mar., Abydos I, p. 36; Junker, G tterdekret, pp. 20-21, fig. 6; cf. p. 16; Roeder, Der Tempel von Dakke, I, 356.

In the Coronation Play the Horus King, after his Osiris Father's death and just before his coronation, is censed with incense, which is assimilated to the Eye of Horus, both Eye and incense emanating from his body. Thoth purifies him with the Eye of Horus. Although this rite was observed in the Middle Kingdom every year to commemorate this event, it is doubtless antique.

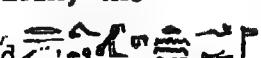
"Thoth speaks words to Horus: 'I offer thee incense, the purifying (Eye), which issued from thee. The Eye. Incense.'"

Sethe, op. cit., II, l. 95, pp. 203-04; cf. Pyr. 18, 19, 29, 1643, 1754, 1803, 2074-75.

Hence incense can be assimilated to water through its assimilation to the Eye of Horus and so revives the Osirian deceased. Dealing with water as used in the rite of "Opening the Mouth" first, we note that while the smr-priest is pouring out water from four nmst-vases, (episode 3), he addresses the statue thus:

"I have joined for thee thy head to thy bones in the presence of Geb. Thoth, join him together. What appertaineth unto (1)
him is complete;"

and in the following episode (4), while performing a similar purification with water from four dsrt-vases he says, "Thy purification is the purification of Horus," and similarly "of Seth", "of Thoth", and "of Dwen-^cAnwey". (2) The deceased is afterwards fumigated with incense (episode 7) and the incense is often described as exudations that have come out from Osiris' body. It is also "the Eye of Horus". The Eye of Horus should be given back to the deceased so that his former moisture may be restored.

"The god cometh with body adorned which he hath fumigated with the eye of his body, the incense of the god which hath issued from him,  and the odour of the fluid (rdw) which hath issued from his flesh, the sweat of the god which hath fallen to the ground 

(1) Davies, Rekhmire^c, Pl. 107.

(2) Ibid.

He hath given it to all gods It is the Horus-eye. If it lives, the people (rhyt) live, thy flesh lives, thy members are vigorous." (1)

The "Eye of Horus" is here incense, and incense is Osiris' exudations.

"Speech: 'O N.! I have come; I have brought to thee the "Eye of Horus" so that thou mayst supply thy face therewith, that it may purify thee, and that its perfume may be thine. The perfume of the "Eye of Horus" is N.'s...." (2)

Newberry has supported the connexion between both "Horus' Eye" and incense. Since the "Eye of Horus" is the liquid that flows from Osiris' body, the tree that exudes incense may be identified

(1) P. Berlin 3055, XII, 7 ff; Moret, Rituel, pp. 115-6; cf. Blackman, ZAS L, 71.

I am not here concerned with the precise scientific identification of sntr, variously described, for example, as "ladanum" (Newberry) and "terebinth resin" (Loret).

"He has given it to all gods It is the Eye of Horus: if it lives men will live, thy flesh will live, and thy veins will be vigorous. The hearts of the gods of the horizon will be gracious unto thee when they look upon thee. They will smell thy perfume when thou hast appeared gloriously over thy world. And so it will flourish."

(rdi.n.f sw n ntrw nbw irt Hr pw: cnh.s, qn rhyt, cnh iwf.k, rwd mtw.k. i3m ib n ntrw 3htyw r.k, m33.sn tw. Hnm. sn sty.k, iw.k h^c. ti hr t3.k. K3 w5d.f)
Cf. Macadam, Kawa, II, pp. 100-01, Pls. 27 d,b.

(2) Pyr. 20; cf. 1643, Blackman, Purification (Egyptian), p. 480.

with Osiris. Hence it is easy to see in incense, whenever it appears on its tree, the tears shed on Osiris. This may be the explanation (cf. Baly, JEA XVII, 222) of the statement, "The Horus-Eye weeps upon the dnw-bush."⁽¹⁾

Furthermore, the contest between Osiris' son Horus and his enemies may be acted in a short mystery play, which forms an integral part of the rite of "Opening the Mouth", (episodes 14 onwards). In Davies' discussion in Rekhmire^c I, 76 ff., the first episode is numbered 13, that is to say in the resurrection of the deceased, and its events are entirely of an Osirian nature, being enacted also in other Osirian dramas, such as the "Great Procession" at Abydus (Prt-c5t), the "Mystery Play of the Succession" (Sethe, Dram. Texte, II), the Khoiak-festival, and the "Ceremony of Driving the Calves" (Hwt Bpsw). A most illuminating version of it is extant in the tomb of Rekhmire^c, the vizier of Tuthmosis III (XVIIIth Dynasty). Having purified the statue standing on a hillock of sand and fumigated it with incense, the lector-priest retreats and makes way to the stm-priest⁽²⁾ to play the part of Horus defending his father, Osiris (here the statue). The stm-priest (Horus) is seen sitting in

(1) Pyr. 135, 695.

(2) On the reading see Gardiner, Onomastica I, 39* ff.

his sleeping gown on a couch (Episode 10, Davies 9). Suddenly he gets up after seeing his father Osiris in his sleep. He is overcome with despondency and longs for his father. But the imy-hnt-priests try to comfort him (fig. 34). The stm-priest (Horus) then appears before some sculptors and tells them to make him a statue of his father (episode 13, Davies 11) (fig. 35), and when this has been fashioned he touches its mouth with his finger (episode 15, Davies 12) (fig. 36).

"Thy mouth is opened by Horus, with his little finger,
with which he opened the mouth of his father, with
which he opened the mouth of Osiris." (1)

So greatly is he pleased with the statue that he tells the sculptors to do no further work on it (Episode 14, Davies 13). Horus, the stm-priest, says m ndr tp. f literally "do not cut out, fabricate, carpenter his head", but since this can also mean "do not seize his head" it may be a reference to the struggle between Osiris and Seth. So also m hw(w) it.i "do not beat upon my father" can be a reference both to the action of statue-makers i.e. framing etc., and to that of enemies of Osiris. If the sculptors were to seize or strike the statue they would range themselves on the side against Osiris in the struggle, as

(1) Pyr. 1330.

Seth's partisans did on the bank of Ndit, which according to Kees (Götterglaube, p. 258 n.2; Aegypten, p. 29, n. 134 - "Ort des Niederschlagens") is the "place of overthrowing".⁽¹⁾ In the same way in episode 18 (Davies 15) n di.i šhd.k d3d3 n iti.i "I do not permit thee to polish my father's head" has clearly a reference to the action of the statue-makers, but it seems likely that it had some further and more hurtful reference as well. No such meaning of šhd is known, but if it were a causative verb meaning "to overthrow" the simplex-form hd should mean "to fall". It is just possible that the sentence šd hr wr ir.k (Düm., Patuamenap, II, Pl. 13, l. 63) might mean "fall under him who is greater than thee", though rendered differently by Sethe in Dram. Texte, II, 141, since it occurs in references to the white hd-chapel in which the deceased's statue is finally deposited. The chapel is identified with Seth, as is the ship in the Coronation Ceremony (Sethe, Ibid., II, scene 7, ll. 21-4; pp. 124 ff.), and both carry Osiris. These are thus "under" (hr) Osiris, and thus imply the subordination of Seth to him, a position into which he might be ordered to "fall". The interpretation of Sethe would in no way be impaired if this additional sense were punningly implied, there

(1) ndr = Copt. noz, Gardiner, Rec. trav. XXXI, 194; cf. Schiaparelli, Il libro dei funerali, p. 219; the mock fight in the Sed-festival of King Amenophis III, in Ann. Serv. XLII, 484.

being certainly a pun also in the "whiteness" (hd) of the chapel and the ship.

We may note, too, that in the Coronation Play (scene 8, Sethe, Ibid., p. 134) there again occurs the command m hw(w) it .. ptn "do not beat this father of mine" in reference to the trampling under foot of the barley (both "father" and "barley" being it Copt. εωτ) by the animals, which in the Egyptian manner, do the threshing by trampling. These animals symbolize the Sethian element and are therefore themselves afterwards driven by beating with sticks (of the ceremony Hwt Bhsw). In the present rite of "Opening the Mouth" the animals, again representing the Sethians, are slaughtered (episode 25).⁽¹⁾ And since the stm's words imply here by a pun that the sculptors have been ill-treating the late (Osiris), they take sides and start a mock fight to defend the statue (i.e. Osiris) against the partisans of Seth. Isis is informed to her great delight that her son Horus has met, that is to say, has found, his father. Horus is then dressed in a leopard's skin, just as he was after his triumph over Seth. The stm-priest (Horus) is summoned to sacrifice his (Horus') Eye, and the whole party starts to defend the Kingdom of the Dead against the followers of Seth. The foes appear

(1) Cf. Budge, Bk Dead 18 (H) 1.2.

in the guise of the sacrificial animals (Episode 25, Davies 21). The statue is offered food, and the soul of Osiris is thus regained, and inserted in the deceased's statue to live again.⁽¹⁾ The statue is lifted (episode 99) by the sons of Horus, this symbolizing the exaltation and resurrection of the deceased through his ascent to $R\bar{e}^c$ (not to Osiris, since Osiris himself went to $R\bar{e}^c$), to live the life of the blessed with the gods in the boat of $R\bar{e}^c$.

We have already demonstrated how immortality was a prominent aspect of the solar religion. The sun-god never dies. He rises in the east or "enters his eastern mountain, seen by the people, lighting the face of those who are upon earth."⁽²⁾ Then he sets in the west, Osiris' abode, full of obstacles which he miraculously surmounts

(1) As to the Egyptians' belief that deities and the dead could be immanent in their statues and representations see Blackman, The Stela of Nebiwenwosret in JEA XXI, 21, 6 f; Rochemonteix-Chassinat, Le temple d'Edfou, II, I, 9 and 13; 10, 2; IV, 10, 12; Chass., Le temple de Dendara, I, 31, 12; 34, 1 and 10; Junker, Stundenwachen, 6 f.; Chass., Dendara II, 58, 12; III, 109, 11 f.; II, 73, 7; 172, 8 f.; 174, 3; 175, 1. Blackman and Fairman, A Group of Texts Inscribed on the Façade of the Sanctuary in the Temple of Horus at Edfu, in Estratto da Miscellanea Gregoriana Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I Centenario della fondazione del Museo Egizio (1839-1939) p. 412.

(2) Frankfort, Cenotaph of Seti I, I, p. 65.

accompanied in his boat by the souls of the dead. Before he re-appears gloriously h^cy, he has to wash himself on his heavenly islands, and through this ablution he is reborn every morning, a reminder of the creation day with its unforgettable watery chaos and hillock. In this way the hillock is the symbol of eternity, and it is happily expressed in the architecture of pyramids, tombs and royal thrones.

Osiris is as eternal as Rē^c himself, yet his eternity is due to the fact that he mainly belongs to this world, from which Rē^c on the other hand removes himself high into his heavens, and to the fact that he is also a natural and cosmic god. Thus it was quite easy for Osiris to win the people's sympathy and gain immense popularity, thanks to his human and universal character. It is this human trait that is lacking in Rē^c. He never dies in spite of his decrepitude, but daily continues to rise in the east (sht i3nrw), and set in the west (sht hpt) or, according to another legend, retires into his own celestial world to lead an old man's life of growing vegetables.⁽¹⁾ Osiris on the other hand died after a short and eventful span of life, which fact made of him, so to speak, a prophet of human civilisation. This partly accounts for

(1) Destruction of Mankind, in the tombs of Sethos I and Ramesses III, "Saith his Majesty (Rē^c), 'The field extendeth fair! - and becometh then the sht-hpt - I shall grow grass there! - and then becometh the sht-i3nrw.'

Urk. V, 26-29 = Totenb. (Naville) I, 25-8; Todt. (Lepsius) I, 18-22; Breasted, Development, pp. 285 ff.; Moret, Le Nil, p. 293; Weill, op. cit., pp. 138-39; Müller, W.M., Egyptian Mythology, p. 77.

his extensive renown. He could not be ousted by the other cults because their currency was confined to certain individual nomes, certain social classes, and certain epochs. There was nothing aristocratic or transcendental about him. It was he who broke boundaries between nomes and barriers between classes, as soon as kingship and society had begun to change their attitude one towards the other from the Fifth Dynasty onward, and to tend towards a common standard. Osiris can, therefore, readily be styled as the founder of democracy. (1)

Osiris' importance, however, is not so much due to his good offices on earth as to his being a guarantee of immortality through resurrection, his special gift to man. His tomb, too, is itself the symbol of this gift, for the tomb is thought of as a form of the Primeval Hill, the place of solar creation, birth and rebirth. Here the solar and Osirian conceptions meet, though they differ in their approaches. The Abydus version of Osiris' tomb is always represented as a rising hill with a flight of stairs, and on it Osiris may be seen sitting as king and judge. In it he may also be seen interred, and about it his devotees desired to be buried and resurrected. Hence the sumptuous funerals on the Nile, the burial at or the pilgrimage to Abydus, the building

(1) Frankfort, The Intellectual Adventure, pp. 93 ff.

of cenotaphs there and the erection of memorial slabs about "the Stairs of the Great God" ~~at~~ the god's supposed sepulchre.⁽¹⁾ Osiris, therefore, had every reason to claim the primeval land and its water, formerly belonging to Rē^c, together with their deep, ritual implications:

"It came to pass that the god (Osiris) went to his land, to the primeval place, wherein he was born, where he came into being as (or from) Rē^c. Now as for every god when his old age cometh...., they go to the land wherein they were born, the primeval land wherein they came into being as (or from) Rē^c, that they may live, be little, become youths.... Take to thee this thy cool water which is in this land."⁽²⁾

Even Thebes, the home of the national god Amin, a great rival of Osiris in the New Kingdom, became in the Ptolemaic Period in the Egyptian's belief a Primeval Hill, especially during the inundation period, and it is described as the whole Universe whose primal god is Osiris. Local patriotism locates in it not only his birth-place but also his tomb. This is of dual significance. First, Thebes in this way, by claiming Osiris' myth, tries to replace Abydus, Osiris' older birthplace, residence and tomb; and secondly it confirms Osiris as a

(1) Erman, A Handbook of Egyptian Religion, p. 135 = Religion der Agypter, p. 271; Wb. II, 409.

(2) Junker, Stundenwachen, p. 87; trans. Blackman, Rec. trav. XXXIX, 67.

cosmic deity who created the world and ruled it.

"Thebes, which is at the head of the territories of Egypt because he who engendered them is in its earth. A limb is in her (Thebes) in all the places."⁽¹⁾

Thebes, therefore, became as Abydus had been. We have already noted the cenotaph of Sethos I there as an architectural expression of the fusion of solar and Osirian ideas. In the middle of its Central Hall, an Island with two stairways is seen emerging from the sub-soil water. The Island is nothing but the Primeval Hill and it is called "the Island of the Justified in Abydus."⁽³⁾ The water about it in the canal comes from the Nile, which during the inundation runs in under the ground, and thus supplies "the Osireion" with its water, or the Primeval Hill with its Nun.⁽⁴⁾ The deceased, here the King, is ritually buried in an island at Abydus, Osiris' necropolis. This island assumes the fundamental function of the Primeval Hill, the endowment of a new life. Earthly life is shifted to the Underworld, and so the deceased lives once more in the protection of his King,

(1) Ann. Serv. XLIV, 152; Drioton's rendering of this partly damaged text.

(2) Infra p. 49.

(3) Bk Dead (Nav.) 17, 24.

(4) Strabo (XVII. 1) thought that it was a well, while it really is not.

Osiris, in the Kingdom of the Dead. At Ab ydus, this is fancied as a risen land, the Primeval Hill, the Navel of the Earth, and is represented with two flights of stairs so that the god can ascend it to his throne on its summit. On it the deceased may be buried; he may be entombed in it also, and in either case "the Stairs" are considered the Osirian Underworld, as one can see from the snake about them (figs. 9, 37).⁽¹⁾

The solar background of this life is now sufficiently clear, and we can sum it up again in a few words.. Atum created a land to stand on after emerging from Nun, and on it he ruled the Cosmos. Here there is a throng of related notions: Throne, Primeval Hill, Navel of the Earth, "the Stairs" (i.e. Osiris' tomb), New Life, rulership, and thence judgment, justice and right living. The god's "glorious appearance" there alludes to his first kingship, and his hillock in turn serves as his divine throne, and the seat of justice and righteousness.⁽²⁾ Re^c is said to have fashioned righteousness⁽³⁾ as well as justice, because without it the world would fall into anarchy, and so he rewards good and wards off and punishes evil. In

(1) Cf. Supra, p. 29.

(2) Frankfort, The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions, Oxford, 1951, p. 11.

(3) Davies, The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna, London, 1903-08, VI, Pl. 15, l. 8, p. 26 = Blackman, Righteousness, pp. 795-96.

a vignette of Chp. 17 of the Book of the Dead (fig. 38) the sun-god is represented sitting on the stairs which represent his Primeval Hill or throne. Behind him stand a cat, an animal-form of Rē^c (ll. 119-20) and a snake, his enemy, the symbol of chaos. Rē^c had to remove chaos from his world, or the cat had to destroy the snake so that order might prevail. The struggle is said to have taken place both in the sky (Bk Dead 39) and on earth in Heliopolis (ll. 18-19), and to have ultimately been crowned with the triumph of light (i.e. Rē^c) over darkness.⁽¹⁾ (Cf. fig. 39.)

Osiris in his Kingdom in the Hall of Judgment also rules with justice, and since he is the judge par excellence, the result of the weighing of the deceased's heart is recorded by the divine scribe Thoth and passed on by Horus to his father before the pronouncing of judgment. He appears sitting on his throne as Atum used to sit on his Primeval Hill. The righteous dead, therefore, long for sepulchres at Abydus about Osiris' "Stairs" identical with that sacred hill itself to enable them to join the suite of the great god. No wonder if the Primeval Hill, that played such a great part in the Egyptian cosmogony, becomes, as it were, a lighthouse guiding both the living and the dead in leading a fair life both on earth and in the hereafter. The reason is clear. Once a god or a mortal is in or near the Hill he becomes righteous. The hill is Osiris' tomb, and

(1) De Buck, Zegepraal, pp. 44-6. Mett. Reverse, row 5.

throne in the Hall of Judgment. It is no wonder if the concrete conception of ~~the~~ (^{h^c}) "Primeval Hill" gave rise in the course of time to abstract conceptions amongst its derivatives. Such is h^cyt which Prof. Drioton, in his researches into the only recently broadened subject of cryptographically written ethical and religious maxims on scarabs has shown to have acquired the meaning "principle, maxim."⁽¹⁾ It is quite excusable for the Egyptian to give to a concrete term an abstract implication. It may be a characteristic of the imagery of his own pictorial script that he attempts to express his ethical views in the same way as his religious beliefs, and the success of his attempt is shown in his ability to express by cryptography his abstract ideas in concrete form. H^cyt in the particular example which Prof. Drioton has studied, is a precept to be followed by him who is anxious to procure the god's favour. From the notions expressed in such scarabs it is clear as a general principle that the favourite of the god is that pious person who does justice (m³c^t), who loves his God and praises him, and who admits that "on the way of life it is the god who leads."⁽²⁾ The proverb in

(1) Ann. Serv. L, 585-90.

(2) Ibid., p. 589.

question reads thus:

"The favoured one of God is he who has placed his way in his heart. That is the (*h^cyt*) on which thou hast relied." (1)

Furthermore, just as the Primeval Hill is a place of eternity, so water, the other concomitant factor of creation, endows one with everlastingness, and water which is capable of granting a new and pure life to gods and mortals never fails to make of a sinner a being righteous, new and pure; he is recreated by water. (2)

(1) Cf. Lefèuvre, Le tombeau de Petosiris, III, Pl. 18.

(2) Proc. SBA XL, 62-3.

A Moslem tradition says that any pilgrim to Mecca, who washes in the well of Zamzam, will be cleansed of his sins by God. Furthermore, he will be reborn and be as pure as a child the moment his mother gives birth to it. In Islam, we find that the idea of the removal of sins is associated with ablution (See Ibn Māja, Sunan al-Mostafā, Vol. I, p. 122).

Similarly in Ancient Egypt, after purification, the deceased is born anew. He then ascends to his father Atum, whereupon he is addressed thus:

"Thou puttest away thine uncleanness for Atum in Heliopolis, thou ascendest with him,"
(Pyr. 207 a);

and

"Thou purifiest thyself in the horizon, thou puttest away thine impurity in the lakes of Shu. Thou risest, thou settest, thou settest with Re^c....; thou risest, thou settest, thou risest with Re^c...."
(Pyr. 208 c.-209 b.)

In this text one can find a parallel between this Egyptian idea and the Catholic teaching about Baptism, as in the latter the baptised person becomes pure, and loses his sins by washing in the sacred water. He is also reborn to become a child of God.

See Blackman in Theology, London, 1920, I, p. 141 = Mercer, Pyramid Texts II, p. 98.

The earthly king is traditionally the sun-god's son (s3 R^c) ruling from a throne their common subjects with justice. Justice is the King's first duty on earth, thus he is said "to live on truth", and his tongue is described as "the shrine of right". Whenever he is to settle disputes, he is said "to appear gloriously like the sun-god".⁽¹⁾ When he dies, he, as an Osiris, ascends to his father to be united with him, where regal office is conferred on him just as in life. In heaven he is embraced by Atum, and this action puts the sceptre in his hand, and seats him on his throne as "Lord of the Two Lands". His worldly and heavenly lives are thus identical, and form an uninterrupted whole.

"Stand thou upon it, this earth, (which comes forth from Atum, the saliva), which comes forth from Hpr;
be thou above it; be thou high above it,
that thou mayest see thy father; that thou mayest see R^c."⁽²⁾

and

"Cause thou that N. govern the Nine (Bows), that he equip the Ennead;
cause thou that the shepherd's crook be in the hand of N.,
so that Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt may bow (before him)."⁽³⁾

(1) Breasted, Ancient Records, I, 625.

(2) Pyr. 1991 "Kheprer" is here Atum the creator-god. In fact he is the god Khepri, the rising sun, represented as a man with a beetle as his head. Mercer, Pyramid Texts I, p. 67; II, p. 95; De Buck, Zegepraal, p. 15. Also see Spleers, Comment...., pp. 216-17.

(3) Pyr. 202.

And

"Thou hast come into being, thou hast become high, thou
hast become content;
thou hast become well in the embrace of thy father,
in the embrace of Atum.

Atum, let N. ascend to thee, enfold him in thine embrace,
for he is thy bodily son for ever."(1)

(1) Pyr. 212-13.

CHAPTER V

OSIRIS' FERTILITY IN LIFE AND DEATH

That Osiris is a fertility-god is established beyond question. His fertility is both that of man and that of Nature, and both meet in him, just as Osiris the divine king is in intimate relation with Osiris the cosmic deity. Nature and man to the Egyptian are one and the same, and both were fused in Osiris.

Osiris' fertility is established from his very beginning, and if Plutarch's narrative that Isis and Osiris consorted together in their mother's womb before their birth⁽¹⁾ means anything, then it in all likelihood refers to Osiris' extraordinary fertility. This did not remain undeveloped, as with man, until puberty, but seems to have been so precocious that although no text relates the whole story, hints to it varying in length are scattered on the monuments and papyri from various periods. It was classical writers who unveiled the truth in these inscriptions and writings, which were in fact meant only for the initiated, and were in any case of late date. These remained a closed book to the masses, but were interpreted in mystery-plays and processions. These, unless clearly understood, might mislead us, and

(1) Plut., De Iside 356; cf. also the birth of Horus while his parents Isis and Osiris were still in the womb of their mother Rhea (i.e. Nut). Ibid., 373 B.C.

we might unwittingly brand both the Egyptians and their god Osiris with obscenity, as the early Christian apologists did. (1)

To look, therefore, so early as the Old Kingdom for abundant proof of the god's fertility might disappoint the researchers. Let us then start from the end, and go back to the beginning. Plutarch helps when he mentions the secret relationship between Osiris and his sister Nephthys, the wife of his brother Seth, which led to the birth of the illegitimate child Anubis. Anubis' exposure might have imperilled his life had Seth discovered him, and had Isis not rescued and nursed him to become her faithful guardian, (2) and eventually her husband Osiris' competent embalmer. The fact is, as will be shown, that according to literary evidence in the Pyramid Texts, Osiris had a propensity for sexual intercourse with any woman he came across. (3) Late sources, however, while admitting Osiris' sexual capacity, explain that this was not manifested in numerous progeny because Osiris was too busy with his humane message in Egypt and outside, and that therefore he led such a restless life

(1) Kay, D.M. The Apology of Aristides the Philosopher, in Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Add. Vol., ed. Allan Menzies, Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 259-79; Julius Firmicus Maternus, De errore, II 2, 3.

(2) Plut., De Iside 256 F, 368 E-F, 375 B; Infra, p. I95, n. 2.

(3) Pyr. 1273; cf. Drioton, Sarcasmes contre les adorateurs d'Horus, in Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud, Paris, 1939, p. 504.

as almost prevented him from proving his sexual power and having frequent sexual intercourse with his wife Isis. It might have been added that his energies might besides have been diverted from the first into his struggle with his brother Seth, and that his early death left him no time for further indulgence of his appetite. Yet his assaulting his sister, Nephthys, and getting her with child, is inexplicable unless it was meant as a sign of a strong sexual impetus. On this point the early Egyptian texts are silent. Only do a Demotic text and another early Coptic one (Paris Magical Papyrus ll. 33 ff.) allegorically refer to adultery between a man (Osiris) and his wife's sister (Nephthys). The wife (Isis) requests a magician (Thoth) to bring him back to her. The conversation between them runs in Coptic as follows:

"It is Isis who cometh from the mountain at noon in the summer, the sad woman, while her eye was full of tears and her heart of sighs. Her father Thoth the Great came to her and asked her, "Why, my daughter Isis, O sad woman, is thine eye full of tears, thy heart full of sighs, the of thy dress soiled? (Wipe) the tears of thine eye!" So she said to him, "He lieth not with me, my father, Ape Thoth, Ape Thoth, my father. I am displaced by my companion (i.e. Nephthys). I have discovered an offence: Nephthys sleepeth with Osiris (and sleepeth not) my brother, the son of my mother, with me." So he said to her, "It is adultery

against thee, behold, my daughter Isis!" But she said to him, "It is adultery against thee, my father Ape Thoth, Ape Thoth my father!...."⁽¹⁾

Plutarch asserts that Osiris behaved thus on the pretext that he mistook Nephthys his sister for his wife Isis, and adds that Osiris in this manner intended to show his virility, Nephthys having been unable to bear a child by her husband Seth, and having become the symbol of the unfruitful wilderness, though this was not the fault of her husband but due to her own sterility.⁽²⁾

Egyptologists try to interpret this incident as a historical fact; namely that Osiris in his struggle with Seth was able to defeat him and seize his belongings, including Nephthys, and that it was for this reason that she became his concubine.⁽³⁾ Naturally this opinion is a mere hypothesis without any documentary or monumental evidence to support it. My own belief is that the rape of Nephthys can be better explained in the light of what may be presumed to have happened in early times in Egypt - "the time of the God" - and still happens to-day in primitive societies, whereby a

(1) Erman, Die Ägyptische Beschwörungen des grossen Pariser Zauberpapyrus, in ZAS XXI, 100 ff.; cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I p. 46; Pl. II (Text).

(2) As to Seth's masculine vigour see Pleyte, Sur un papyrus inédit du British Museum, in Rec. trav. III, 59, 60.

(3) Hornblower, Osiris and His Rites, II, in MAN XXXVII, 171.

king or a chieftain may claim all the women, married or unmarried, of his domain or clan. To him belongs everything, animate or inanimate, on account of his divine nature. On the other hand Nephthys seems to have been inclined towards Osiris, for she helped Isis to succour him, and both goddesses lamented Osiris passionately, as if Nephthys were a second wife or at least a concubine by right rather than by compulsion. ⁽¹⁾

"I am thy sister,) who loveth thee, says Isis, says Nephthys.

They weep for thee; they awake for thee." ⁽²⁾

The King (who is also Osiris) "Is the man who taketh women from their husbands whenever he willeth and when his heart desireth." By so behaving Osiris does what is expected of one regarded as a divine symbol of fertility in Nature.

A god could take another god's wife as his own. ^{-C} Re married Nut, the sky-goddess, Gēb's wife, and Hathōr, his own daughter, who is at times identified with Isis, Osiris' wife. Later Hathōr was married to Horus. This sort of relation was allowed not only between gods and goddesses but also between gods and mortal women. The sun-god,

(1) Pyr. 510, 623, 1786-87. See Mercer, Pyramid Texts II, p. 310, n. 632 a.

(2) Pyr. 2192.

for instance was regularly supposed to replace the living king in his matrimonial duty with his queen, as if this were Hathor the god's wife, with a view to begetting the divine heir to the throne. (1)

Thus the right of a god to take a woman from her husband was considered by the Egyptians as a natural and a religious one, which

(1) The intercourse which took place between Queen Ahmes and Amun and the fruit of which was Hashepsut is described in her temple at Deir el-Bahri as follows:

"This august god Amun, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (i.e. Karnak), came, when he had made his mode of being the majesty of this her husband, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt N. They (i.e. combination of god and king) found her as she slept in the beauty of her palace. She awoke because of the savour of the god, and she laughed in the presence of his majesty. He came to her straightaway. He was ardent for her. He gave his heart unto her. He let her see him in his form of a god, after he came before her. She rejoiced on beholding his beauty; his love it went through her body. The palace was flooded with the savour of the god, all his odours were as (those of) Punt. Then the majesty of this god did all she desired with her. She kissed him...."

Naville, Deir el-Bahri, (II), Pl. 47 = Urk. IV, 219-22; Kees, Aegypten, p. 40, trans. Blackman, Luxor and Its Temples, London 1923, pp. 68-9.

As regards such theogamy, also see P. Westcar = Erman-Blackman, Literature, pp. 36-47; Lefèuvre, Romans et contes égyptiens, pp. 80-90; Drioton-Vandier, L'Egypte, Paris, 1946, p. 173; Weigall, A., A Short History of Ancient Egypt, London, 1934, p. 41; Breasted, Ancient Records, II, § 841, p. 334 = Gayet, A., Le temple de Luxor, Pl. 63 (About Alexander the Great) Mahaffy, J.P., A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, London, 1898, pp. 16-7.

accounts for the fact that in Egypt gods, people and Nature formed a solidly united society such as was unknown to the other ancient Near-Eastern civilisations.⁽¹⁾ This is the reason why temples abound in representations and Egyptian sacred and literary texts contain many accounts of this divine fertility-power, which was in fact later outspokenly venerated in what are called the Phallic Processions.⁽²⁾

In the Old-Kingdom Pyramid Texts there are a few references to Osiris' fecundity. In these the wording evokes the picture of Isis sitting on Osiris' phallus after his death to receive his semen. Though the scene may seem voluptuous outwardly, yet it is inwardly significant.

"Thy sister cometh to thee, rejoicing for love of thee.
Thou hast placed her on thy member, that thy seed may go into her...."⁽³⁾

In the Middle-Kingdom Hymn of Amenmose to Osiris on the Louvre Stela C286, the essential idea is expressed in nearly the same way:

(1) Frankfort, The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near-Eastern Religions, pp. 8-12.
(2) Plut., De Iside 265 C.
(3) Pyr. 632, 1635-36.

"It is she (i.e. Isis) who lifts up what is
inert in the god whose heart is weary, who
(1)
takes his seminal fluid...."

The outcome of this posthumous marriage is a male child to avenge
his father: "Horus the pointed has come forth from thee....", (2)
"....and (Isis) makes an heir, and rears the child in solitude
without anyone knowing where he is." (3) That is why Horus is
called "Horus son of Isis" *ḥ̄r w̄s 'Aps̄jw̄s*, without the
(4) patronymic. Only in the Middle Kingdom does this myth of the
birth of Horus take for the first time the shape of a complete
story, (5) although indeed with the usual solar background. It
may have been in full vogue at least from the Old Kingdom, when
the story was occasionally and in part referred to in the royal
tombs, for the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, wherein the story occurs
for the first time complete, are but a later edition of the Pyramid

(1) Louvre C 286, 16.

(2) Pyr. 632. See Mercer, Pyramid Texts II, p. 311, n. 632 d.

(3) Louvre C 286, 16 = Moret, Bull. Inst. fr. XXX, 743; cf. CT
148 ll. 209 ff.; Metternich Stele, l. 169 ff. = Budge, Fetish,
p. 498; ___, Legends of the Gods, pp. 179 f.; Mercer, op. cit.,
p. 100.

(4) Erman, ZAS LIII, 97.

(5) CT 148; cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 85.

Texts, and merely contain the Old-Kingdom beliefs popularized by the masses. In this Middle-Kingdom myth Isis rejoices⁽¹⁾ that she is to bear a child by Osiris after his death, a son to avenge his father, and invokes the aid of Atum-Re^c to protect the unborn child against Seth "who knows that it is the heir of Osiris". Before Horus is born, Isis promises that he shall succeed his father as king on earth and that he shall sail in the boat of Re^c. After his birth Horus states that he is the greatest of the gods and that he will crush his father's enemy, and says that he is "Horus, son of Isis."

In the New Kingdom the whole incident is related and illustrated on one of the walls of the temple of Sethos I at Abydus (fig. 40) to show that the god's power of fecundity did not stop with his death, but was on the contrary, as active as ever. The words in the Pyramid Texts quoted above (Pyr. 632; 1635-6) clearly had reference to the incident, and if placed alongside the New-Kingdom scene at Abydus they would serve excellently as a legend to it. Just as in the New-Kingdom temple of Sethos I, at Denderah in the Ptolemaic Period⁽²⁾ (figs. 41, 42) Isis is represented as a hawk

(1) Cf. Plut., De Iside 372 A.

(2) Mar., Dend. IV, 10, 88, 90.

spreading her wings and thus, with her wind she stimulates him by giving him air, (spirit, *κνινη*, or "breath of life" to quote the common Egyptian phrase)⁽¹⁾ so as to animate him before uniting with him. "It is she who maketh shade for him with her feathers, who giveth him air with her wings...."⁽²⁾

In "The Book of Making the Spirit of Osiris, or the Spirit Burial,"⁽³⁾ Isis expresses the noble service she has done to Osiris: her preservations of his essence in her body, her giving birth to Horus to destroy his enemy Seth and his accomplices, and her intention to make him immortal:

"I am thy sister Isis.

No god hath done (for thee) what I have done, and no goddess.

I made a male child, though I was a woman,

because of my desire to make thy name live upon earth.

Thy divine semen, which was in my body,

I placed (it) on the back of the earth,

that it might preserve thy character,

that it might heal thy suffering,

that it might bring destruction upon him who had caused it.

(1) Cf. Hopfner, Sexualleben, II, 2.

(2) Cf. also the granite sarcophagus found by Amélineau in the tomb of Osiris at Abydus in 1898 (now in Cairo Museum), fig. 43. Amélineau, E., Le tombeau d'Osiris, 1899, pp. 108 ff. = Budge, Osiris II, p. 84.

(3) Spiegelberg, ZAS LIII, 94 ff.

Seth hath fallen before his sword,
and the comrades of Seth have followed him.

The throne of Gēb belongeth to thee,
thou art his son whom he loves."⁽¹⁾

Undoubtedly, Osiris lived again in the person of Horus, who succeeded him on the throne, and Osiris was identified with the living Horus, while Horus in turn was identified with the dead Osiris. Horus was then regarded as the symbol of resurrection on earth.

"In the Tale of the Two Brothers, Bata, having mutilated himself and fled to Syria, came back to Egypt in the form of a splendid bull. But his disloyal wife, living with the Pharaoh of Egypt, conspired with Pharaoh against his life, and killed him. Yet with his blood, he could impregnate her and come forth from her body as a child to avenge himself. He died, but his vital liquid was capable of bringing him back to life despite destruction. He was thus Osiris and Horus at once.

The idea of Osiris' resurrection was metaphysically expounded by classical writers in later times. Osiris was considered as Spirit,

(1) P. Louvre 3079 = Pierret, Etudes égyptologiques, I p. 22; Spiegelberg, Eine neue Legende Über die Geburt des Horus, in ZAS LIII, 94-7; Budge, Osiris II, p. 45; Mercer, op. cit., p. 68 with n. 11 and p. 91; Kees Aegypten, p. 30.

Isis as Matter, the two fundamental sides of creation. Yet it is likely that this spiritualisation of the god lay latent from the very first in the people's religion and rites, before it came to be stressed in later times. Osiris died, yet his spirit remained active in his posthumous seed. Therefore his function as a creator creating with his spirit is beyond question, and his festivals, rites, and myths are an outward expression of this deeper meaning. In "the Utterance for Going forth in the Day", Chap. 64 of the Book of the Dead Osiris speaks of himself thus:

"I am the master of his (i.e. my) birth a second time,"

which words might also be claimed by Horus himself, since he, by his birth, impersonates his father Osiris on earth and lives again in him. The birth of Horus and Osiris' second life were intimately connected, and were brought about in the same spiritual manner, spiritual in a literal sense, because the revival of Osiris which brought about both events was effected by the giving of air. Horus was born from the seed of his dead father, the seed that contained his spirit.

"I (Osiris) the mysterious soul, creator of gods." (1)

(1) Guieysse, Rituel funéraire égyptien, chap. 64; cf. Robiou, F., "Les variations de la doctrine osiriaque depuis l'âge des pyramides jusqu'à l'époque romaine" in Actes du 8ème congrès international des orientalistes, tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania. 3ème partie. Section II. Leide, 1893, pp. 77-8.

In the words "I made a male child, though I was (but) a woman", mentioned above, Isis seems to be boasting that being but a woman, - and here we must understand a woman alone and unaided in the normal way by intercourse with a living husband - she has succeeded in producing a male heir to avenge Osiris. This is not quite a case of virgin birth but something approaching it, in that it was Isis' own efforts that gave life to her husband's corpse sufficient to render her pregnant. It is clear from the representations that it was the corpse of Osiris with which she had intercourse: besides, in the Coffin Text summarized above she calls herself at the outset (l. 211)

"Isis, the sister of Osiris, she who wept
for the father of the gods,"

showing that the seed in her was to be thought of as the seed of an already dead Osiris. The story of Christ's birth is a striking parallel. If we admit that both Christ's and Horus' births were spiritual, it is to this parallelism in Egyptian paganism between Christ and Osiris in the person of Horus, as well as in the person of Serapis in whom his cult persisted, that Christianity is indebted for the rapid and extensive propagation of the notion of virgin birth.⁽¹⁾ Plutarch, by asserting that Osiris' phallus was cut off

(1) Cf. Sharpe, S., Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity, London, 1863, pp. 102-14.

and thrown into the river to be eaten by certain fishes,⁽¹⁾ touches on both sexual and spiritual side of Osiris' life. Isis gathered his scattered limbs together, Plutarch says, and by her magic reconstructed them save for his phallus. This version occurs only in Diodorus (I, 22) and Plutarch. No Egyptian text refers to the loss of this part of Osiris' body in this manner, and Horus' miraculous birth is always expressed both in words and in pictures without any mention of the absence of this part. Oddly enough Plutarch seems to contradict himself when he asserts that Osiris lost his phallus in the water and at the same time says, "Everywhere they point out statues of Osiris in human form of ithyphallic type, on account of his creative and fostering power."⁽²⁾ As a matter of fact the phallus of Osiris suffered the same mutilation as the other parts of his body, and with them was scattered asunder all over the country. The phallus is said to have been preserved,

(1) Cf. Wiedemann, A., Der Fish Ant und seine Bedeutung, in Sphinx XIV, 233-34; Suys, E., Etudes sur le conte du fellah plaideur, Roma, 1933, p. 142.

(2) De Iside 371 F; for dead Osiris with the strong erected phallus cf. Bk Dead 69, ll. 4-5; Erman, ZAS XXXVIII, 30-31; CT 227.

according to one tradition, in Mendes,⁽¹⁾ and, according to another, in Bubastis.⁽²⁾ Consequently it was never annihilated, but was rather among those parts which were gathered and reconstructed before the resurrection of Osiris, and, we have already seen, it was there in the intercourse between the god and his wife before the birth of Horus. But nevertheless it is evident from other sources that to the Egyptian mind procreation could in this case occur without it. In the Tale of the Two Brothers, which is highly Osirian in its pattern, Bata cut off his privy member to prove his innocence in his relations with his brother's wife. Bata's fertilizing power over his own wife could by no means be destroyed, and so he could render her pregnant, and make her bear him again, by entering her body in the form of a splinter from a persea-tree in which he spiritually resided for some time. The tree sprang up from his blood. So the absence or presence of a creator-god's phallus is of no consequence, since creation is not so much a question of perceptible substance as it is a question of spiritual essence immanent in such

(1) Mar., Dend. IV, 43; Rec. trav. III, 83; ZAS LXXX, 89 ff.

(2) Demotic Magical Papyrus, Col. XI, l. 14-15.

matter as phallus, seed, saliva and water. Thus Osiris is Efflux or Water,⁽¹⁾ or Spirit, Isis Earth⁽¹⁾ or Matter; Osiris a Bull, Isis a cow; Osiris active, Isis the "Recipient";⁽²⁾ and Horus their son is the "Image of the Perceptible World."⁽³⁾ Hence the creator-god, and after him those gods who assumed his cosmogonic task did the work of both sexes and were all styled "fathers and mothers" of gods and men.⁽⁴⁾ Re^{-c} and Osiris acquired such duality after the severing of their members, but, as in the case of Bata,⁽⁵⁾ this did not in the least affect their fertility and procreativity. They were on account of their fertility likened to bulls (fig.44), as Isis herself describes Osiris.

(1) Cf. Junker, Götterdekret, p. 38.

(2) Plut., De Iside 374 A.

(3) Ibid., 373 B-C, 374 D-E; cf. Cooke, H.P., Osiris, A Study in Myth, Mysteries and Religion, London, 1931, pp. 50-55.

(4) Cf. e.g. Ptah in Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 33, 35-6, 269.

(5) Cf. Lefèvre, op. cit., pp. 154 ff.

"O thou who art fair of countenance, lord of love

O bull who impregnates cows."

He is also called "the lusty bull,"

"The bull who impregnates the beauteous ones."

Of his beauty and virile strength she says:

"O thou who art uniquely youthful, beauteous

to behold, lord among women, Male of cows,

O child, master of beauty."⁽¹⁾

Re^c , too, in his old age, cut off his member, and from his blood he created men, a fact which strengthens the relation between Re^c and Osiris, and accumulates further evidence to the solar background of the Osirian myth.

"What is that?" says the commentary in Chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead.

"That is the blood which flew out of Re^c 's phallus,

when he was induced into maiming himself. Out of it
⁽²⁾
were shaped gods...."

Osiris' fertility found great expression in the popular procession of $\phi\kappa\lambda\lambda\eta\varphi\circ\mu\alpha$ ⁽³⁾. Herodotus records it⁽⁴⁾ and

(1) P. Bremner-Rhind, ll. 3, 5-3, ll, trans. Faulkner, JEA XXII, 124.

(2) Cf. Gardiner, Proc. SBA XXXVIII, 44.

(3) Plut., De Iside 355 E, 365 B-C.

(4) Herodot., II, 48.

compares it with the Dionysus Processions in Greece in his day. (1) Dionysus was identified with Osiris (2) because of his fertility and other fundamental traits which they had in common since both were natural and cosmic deities. Women, Herodotus says, carried images *ἀγάλματα* a cubit high with a moving phallus "near as big as the rest of the body." "A flute-player goes before, the women follow after, singing of Dionysus." Women believed that by celebrating the festival they could themselves acquire fertility. (3) For the same reason Osiris' phallus was worshipped in Ptolemaic times. The sexual aspect of Osiris is vividly called to mind in the words of a series of songs sung during the performance of the Osirian Mysteries by two priestesses impersonating the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys, Osiris' wife and consort.

"O that thou wouldest come to us in thy former shape," they say, "that we might embrace thee, thou forsaking us not," (4)

(1) Cf. Diodorus I, 22.

(2) Herodot., II, 42, 49, 149; Diodorus I, 11, 15, 96.

(3) Cf. the invocation of the women of Elis to Dionysus, "Praying that the god may come with the hoof of a bull." Plut., De Iside 364 F.

(4) P. Bremner-Rhind I. 20-1; trans. Faulkner, JEA XXII, 123.

for thou art the Bull of the Two Sisters.

Come thou, O young child, in peace, O our Lord,
that we may see thee; consort thou with us after
the manner of a male." (1)

Again (2) later they sing:

"O great bull, lord of passion, lie thou with thy
sister Isis." (3)

(1) Ibid., 2, 6-9.

(2) Ibid., 5, 25.

(3) It may be noted that it is not impossible that during the recitation of this song an impersonation of the corpse of Osiris was actually brought in. In (3, 1) the words ~~✓~~ ~~✓~~ which Faulkner translated "Someone is brought in dead(?)" have the appearance of a stage direction like those at the beginning. It is suggested that these words may mean "the bier (funeral sledge) is drawn in." This text is quite capable of writing st3w for st3t "bier". Besides, in funerary representations it is on both sides of the bier that the two "Weepers" or "Kites" stand who represent Isis and Nephthys.
e.g. Davies, Rekhmire Pl. 93 (bottom row); Tylor and Griffith, Paheri, Pl. 5 (top) (cf. also the other rows); cf. also vignette in P. Kerasher, B.M. No. 9995 = Bk Dead (Budge), p. LXXI.

CHAPTER VI

OSIRIS AND WATER IN FOLK-TALES

That there were already in ancient times many stories reflecting the Osiris legend is well known. Such are for example the Tale of the Two Brothers, The Blinding of Truth, and Contendings of Horus and Seth.⁽¹⁾ The subject of reflections of Egyptian legends in other countries in more modern times has been touched on by Maspero (Contes populaires, Introduction - a study of folk-lore), by Vikentiev, Royonnement des anciennes légendes à travers le monde, 1943-45, in Revue des conférences françaises en Orient; Le conte égyptien des deux frères et quelques histoires apparentées, in Bull. Fac. Art. Cairo, XI, 67-111, by Lefèvre, Chronique d'Égypte, 1950, Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique, Paris, 1949; and by Frank-Kamenetzki in Arch. f. Rel. XXIX, 234-43. These writers have compared the Osiris legend in Plutarch and the Tale of the Two Brothers with one another and with various folk-tales, mainly from Russia. These stories are Osirian in the sense that they stress the main motifs of the tale such as the resurrection of the leading

(1) Lefèvre, Romans et contes égyptiens, pp. 159, 176 ff.

character, both with the aid of water and in the guise of vegetation, after the mutilation and the reconstruction of the body.

In an appendix I have quoted some of these stories. The Lemon-Girl is a Turkish tale in Margaret Kent, Fairy Tales from Turkey, Routledge, 1946, pp. 38-47, and is discussed by Vikentiev, which reappears in Grimm's Fairy Tales, ⁽¹⁾ having been first found by the brothers, Grimm in an Italian version, Le tre cetre. The Merchant's Daughter and the Servant is a Russian story in A.N. Aphanassieff, Les contes et légendes populaires russes, Berlin, 1922, t. I, pp. 183-88 (in Russian) mentioned by Vikentiev but not given in extenso. In the version which I give here I have been aided by Dr. S.J. Tomkeieff of King's College, Newcastle. Ivan, the Sacristan's Son was compared by Lefèvre with the Tale of the Two Brothers, but again without giving the whole story. This I have translated from the French edition in Rambaud, Alfred, La russie épique, Étude sur les chansons héroïques de la russie, Paris, 1876, pp. 377-80, the first work, to the best of my knowledge, which compares the two tales. The Widower's Daughter and The Peasant's Daughter, both Georgian tales, were published in a Georgian version ⁽²⁾ and discussed by Frank Kamenetzki, Über die Wasser- und Baumnatur des Osiris; mit Heranziehung folkloristischer

(1) Bolte, J., und Polivka, G., Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, Bk. IV, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 257-59.

(2) L'ancienne Géorgie IV (1914-1915), section 4-e, pp. 76-82: "Le garçon avec les cheveux d'or"; Materialiensammlung zur Beschreibung des Kaukasus, XXXIII, 3, pp. 80-86.

Parallelen, op. cit., p. 235. in relation to Plutarch's account of the Osiris legend only.

The remaining tales which I have included here have not been previously considered from this angle. The Tale of the Silver Saucer and the Crystal Apple is a Russian story, for which I have used an English edition. (1) "Donotknow" is likewise a Russian tale that I have obtained from the same source. (2) "The Mummers' Play" is English, and is published in a number of compilations, the most important of which are Tiddy, R.J.E., The Mummers' Play, Oxford, 1923, and H. Coote Lake, Mummers' Play and the "SACER LUDUS", in FOLK-LORE (A Quarterly Review) London, 1931, Vol. XLII, pp. 141-49. The version which I give here is that given in The Mediaeval Stage by E.K. Chambers, Oxford, 1903, Vol. II pp. 276-79. It is probable that there are many other stories reflecting the Osirian myth. I hope the collection I have made may induce others to complete what I have begun.

I have not in every case discussed these stories in detail; their points of similarity with the Osiris story, not only as given in Plutarch but with the additional matter which the Egyptian sources provide, will, I trust, be obvious enough without the necessity of

(1) Magnus, L.A., Russian Folk-Tales (trans. from Russian), London, 1916 (2nd Impression) pp. 36-41.

(2) Ibid., pp. 234-42.

detailed commentaries. But since it will be necessary, from this point onward, constantly to refer to their conformities with and divergences from the Osiris-story, the reader is advised that he should peruse them before proceeding.

In the foregoing pages we have discussed the rôle played by the sun-god in creation, and how Osiris by his appropriation of this rôle raised himself to the position of a creator and cosmic god. Water is not only the medium of creation in general but also the begetter of the creator-god in particular. It is the primal water of the "first time", or *Nün*, and also the divine seed:

"Behold N., his feet shall be kissed by the pure waters, which come into being through Atum, which the phallus of Shu makes, which the vulva of Tfēnet brings into being."⁽¹⁾

It is his own water which he created.⁽²⁾ Osiris took over this water to himself, not to create things which have already been created, but to endow them with a new life once they had lost their own. In appropriating it, Osiris claims that it is his own exudations, a vital part of himself. He had but once to get it back to re-gain

(1) Pyr. 2065; cf. Breasted, Development, p. 19.

(2) Junker, Stundenvachen, p. 87; Supra, passim.

his moisture and life, and he gives it as water both to those who have lost their moisture by death, and to the land of Egypt, whenever it suffers the same experience. Because of this, the water, especially in spate at the time of inundation, is held to be the gift of Osiris, and it is the belief of his people that he is buried at the sources of the river at Elephantine, or on an island near Philae. Thence he nourishes the land with his water. Osiris' beneficence is not confined to the world of the living, but continues to manifest itself in the after life, as every dead person becomes an individual Osiris. The dead, who are called "the living" by the Egyptians, will live once more in the Realm of the Dead with its king Osiris, who himself died to live again. Resurrection is, therefore, a means to attaining a new life in the other world, and the greatest hope that a living Egyptian cherishes in his life-time is for a future spiritual life after his death. But this is not possible for everyone; it is rather conditioned by first the deceased's earthly conduct and manners, and secondly the performance by his relatives of certain mummification rites and daily and periodical rituals from which libations and lustral washing with Osiris' water cannot possibly be omitted. We have also seen that this water of Osiris is of such a magical effect as to gather the limbs of the deceased which are presumed to have been scattered abroad like the limbs of Osiris. These limbs must be reassembled by washing the deceased, or by pouring out libations at his tomb. His heart then

returns to the body and beats again.

In such rituals the myth of Osiris is frequently prominent. There is constant reference to the god's dismemberment by his enemies although he had committed no crime against them, and his innocence and the culpability of his enemies are often emphasized. His death as a human being is regarded as a sign of disorder in society, and as a cosmic deity, as a presage of dissension in Nature. The crime shows that the human laws have been broken and that customs and beliefs are in danger⁽¹⁾ while in the supernatural realm, the elements of Nature seem to be in a state of chaos, and are giving way to subversive storms, droughts and famines. As creator, the sun-god saw to the nourishing of his people from the very beginning, the supplying of them with his light and warmth in return for piety towards him as the basis of order in his world. Osiris in this world has charged his son Horus with this, and he himself in the World of Shades examines every injustice or sin committed by the deceased on earth. For this purpose a scrupulous trial is held in his court there. Only the righteous are to live again, while the unjust are to suffer a second annihilating death.

This human side of life and death is clearly represented in the

(1) A good proof of this is "The Admonitions of a Prophet." See Erman-Blackman, Literature, pp. 92 ff.

folk-tales, which we have chosen for our study in the present work in the light of the Osiris legend. But before we make the analogy between them and this legend, we have to sketch the common pattern of these folk-tales to give evidence of this analogy.

The Osirian legend as preserved generally by Egyptian traditions, and particularly Plutarch's essay on Isis and Osiris, and the Osirian Tale of the Two Brothers, have many parallels with these folk-tales. Here are the main elements of their basic similarity:

There is a conflict which breaks out between two persons - two brothers like Osiris and Seth, or Bata and Anupu - a daughter and her father, a beautiful girl and an ugly or black one, a girl and her sisters, or her step-mother, a boy and his step-mother or between two neighbouring kings. It is noticeable that the relation between the two contending persons may be either a family relation, a relation of physical resemblance, or of identical social importance, and that their contest arises from a desire for the satisfying of their possessive instinct. Parallel to the conflict between Osiris and Seth for the acquisition of the crown, there is the conflict between the real and the false brides to marry the prince of the land, and between a step-mother and her step-children for the possession of their common supporter. The conflict-motif may be due to an urgent need for the gratification of the self-preservation instinct and the warding off of imminent famine, as in the Tale of the

Widower's Daughter, where a father intends to kill his daughter and bury her in his field in order to obtain a fruitful harvest of the land.⁽¹⁾ Alternately, the sex-instinct plays an important part in some conflicts and causes trouble between two related persons. For instance in the Tale of the Two Brothers, Anupu's wife tries in vain to tempt Bata to have illicit sexual intercourse with her in the absence of her husband, just as Potiphar's wife tempts the young Joseph.⁽²⁾ Such women, from fear of punishment, or to take revenge on the unco-operative paramours, arouse the jealousy of their husbands, pressing them to avenge their honour and defend their virtue.

The beginning of the conflict is usually marked by a flight for life to a foreign land - a flight which is always associated with a pursuit, and which leads to the death of the pursued. They may be killed, as in the case of Osiris, and buried in the earth, and then resurrected in a similar manner.

Before they are resurrected into their ordinary human form, they undergo a sort of extraordinary metamorphosis into some animal or vegetable form. They may reappear, as does Osiris, in the guise

(1) Cf. Osiris' fruitful interment, Infra, pp. 274 ff.

(2) Genesis XXXIX.

of a water-creature, or be turned into a fish as in the case of the Widower's Daughter. Bata is turned into the "Beautiful Bull" (k3 nfr), and Ivan the Sacristan's Son into a bird, like the Lemon-Girl and the Merchant's Daughter. They may also assume the form of trees, as does the Lemon-Girl and Ivan, a shrub with a variety of beautiful flowers like the Little Fool in the Tale of the Silver Saucer and the Crystal Apple, or a beautiful garden as in the Story of the Merchant's Daughter and the Servant. These various metamorphoses naturally protect the victims from annihilation, by hiding them from their foes, and prepare them for their re-appearance in their former human shape, when all sufferings have come to an end and retribution has been inflicted on their oppressors.

As in the case of Osiris, the deliverance, from the hands of their enemies, of the persecuted heroes and heroines of our folk-tales and their final resurrection is due first and foremost to water.

Osiris was laid low by Seth on the bank of Nedit and was drowned in the Nile. The waters of the river preserved his corpse, carrying it to a safe place for burial. According to one tradition he was entombed in Memphis. Carried by the water, he was exposed to the danger of being devoured by the fishes, which incarnated Seth. But Isis with her magic had the power to keep Osiris safe. In later times the drowned were considered martyrs like Osiris, being even identified with him, and were thus apotheosized, once they had been washed onto

the bank of the river by a crocodile before entombment.

According to another tradition the deceased (Osiris) transformed himself into a fish, ⁽¹⁾ possibly to avoid the Sethian creatures in the water as Horus did. Here the transfiguration of the Widower's Daughter into a fish (Russalka) to be caught by the Prince of the foreign land and preserved in a water-basin in his bed-room is most significant, as it gives her an Osirian character (Cf. Osiris in the tree supporting the roof of Malcander's room).

Water, the all-preserving, may play a large part in the details of the folk-tales. It may carry the chief characters away from their homelands to a safer land. In Plutarch's story of Osiris the god was carried in a chest on the river Nile and across the Mediterranean to Byblus, where a plant embraced him. Bata was saved from his brother Anupu on his way to Byblus by a stretch of water, which was created by the sun-god, to separate them, and it is probable that he crossed the Mediterranean as Osiris had done. The Widower's Daughter concealed herself in a hollow tree-trunk, and was carried in it down a river to

(1) "For recitation by Osiris T3hbt, justified: 'Thy Bai cometh out a bynni-fish on the water.'"
Moret, Ann. Mus. Guimet XXXII, 135.
As to the kind of the fish, see Brugsch, Hier.-Demot. Wb., 1097; ZMS (1868) 55.

(2) Infra, p.270.

a foreign country to escape from her father who wanted to marry her himself. In the Tale of the Lemon-Girl, the prince who set out in search of a bride trespasses on the domain of a terrible demon, and although the demon orders the river to catch him, the waters save him from drowning.

The really magical effect of water may be seen specifically in their resurrection. In the Osirian legend, water is "the life-giver", the "Life of the Soul" (^{Cnh} B3i); it is the water which gathers together the deceased's limbs and puts back his internal organs, especially the heart, into their places, and which in the case of Bata, refreshes his heart and resuscitates him. (1)

In the Italian version of the Tale of the Lemon Girl, the prince tells an old woman that he is searching for a bride "as white as fresh cheese and as red as blood," whereupon she gives him three lemons and a knife and tells him to go back to his country. She also tells him that if he cuts the lemons at a well a beautiful girl will appear from each. The first girl, on appearing from the lemon, shouts to him, "Give me water to drink!" But he fails to do so, and the first two girls consequently die. The third time he hurries, and gives the girl water, with the result that she lives. The Black Girl, however, pricks her in the temple with a pin, and she is changed into a bird. The prince then mistakenly marries the Black Girl, and when the bird appears in

(1) Supra, p. 7.

the palace she orders the cook to kill it. From the feathers remaining in the boiling water springs a lemon-tree that yields only three lemons on the third of which the prince repeats the instructions of the old woman. Thus the lemon-girl eventually lives again and becomes the real princess through the help of water.

The Turkish version is more elaborate, yet the theme is entirely the same, and the incidents of the story take place in an atmosphere entirely Turkish if not Oriental, reminiscent of the Arabian Nights. A prince goes forth on a similar quest and for lack of water the first two girls die, but "as soon as the (third) girl appeared he threw her into the water. There she bathed and drank her fill, and came out of the river looking as beautiful as a full moon. (In the Italian narrative she appeared as white as cheese and as red as blood.)

The Little Fool in the Tale of the Silver Saucer and the Crystal Apple is asked by her evil sisters to go with them into the wood to "pick berries and look for wild strawberries" just as Osiris, in Plutarch's tale, was invited to a banquet, and in the wood the Little Fool was trapped as was Osiris in Seth's house. Both Osiris and the Little Fool were slain in the wilderness and buried there. Their tombs were shaded by trees and shrubs with pretty flowers far from the eyes of their enemies lest these should lay hold of them, and do further

harm. As Isis looked for Osiris so "the father" (of the Little Fool), when he had been told that his daughter had been eaten by the wolves, (cf. Jacob's grief at Joseph's similar fate)⁽¹⁾ "was sorry. She was a Fool, but she was his daughter after all, and so the peasant wept for his daughter" Similarly while Isis was wandering in search of her beloved brother and husband, it was the Pans and the Satyrs which first learnt of the crime, and it was a simple shepherd who was looking for a lost sheep. It was those pastoral creatures, and also simple prophetic children playing in a temple, as Plutarch tells us,⁽²⁾ who were the first to guide the searchers to the destination of their lost relatives and uncover the crime. It is worth noting that the discovery of the crime is mostly due in our folk-tales to miraculous deeds and the mercy of the good God. Water too is miraculous; the pipe that sang the Little Fool's story said to the sorrowful father, "You cannot raise me from my heavy sleep till you get water from the Tsar's well." The Tsar was kind to the father and bade him, "Take the water of life from the Tsar's well. When your daughter revives, bring her here" When he returned to his daughter's grave with "the living water" he dug up her body, "sprinkled it with the water" and

(1) Genesis, XXXVII.

(2) De Iside 356 D-E.

"his daughter sprang up in front of him alive, and hung like a dove upon her father's neck."

Just as the envious sisters took the Little Fool to the wood, the maid-servant in the Tale of the Merchant's Daughter took her mistress to an island, where she sent her to sleep with a certain drug, gouged out her eyes and kept them in her pocket. This crime was followed by a trick played by the servant on the prince. Through the resemblance between her and her mistress she was able to marry the Prince precisely as did the ugly girl in the Tale of the Widower's Daughter and the Arab or black girl in the Tale of the Lemon-Girl. And just as the Lemon-Girl could go to the castle, and marry her lover by making him brother and putting in it her wedding-ring, so the blind girl could arouse the King's admiration with the two crowns, which she had made of velvet and silk. Both girls were helped in the accomplishment of their plans by such simple old people as the old woman or foster-mother of the Lemon-Girl and the old shepherd or foster-father of the blind girl.

In ancient Egypt the loss of the eyes meant not only pain but also loss of power to the victim. The prototype or form of all eyes, was the Eye of Horus. It implied kingly ascendancy and stood for Pharaoh's crown.⁽¹⁾ Seth, in the process of his contendings with Horus

(1) Infra, p. 320.

and the investigation of their cause by the Ennead, took Horus to the mountains and putting out his eyes exposed him to the wild beasts in order to win the crown of Egypt. But once Horus had miraculously recovered his eye-sight, he continued his struggle with his uncle till the end to prove his right and claim to the kingdom of his father.

The blind girl in the Folk-tale of the Merchant's Daughter and the Servant, through patience and cleverness, after she had been left helpless on an island, was able to regain her two eyes stolen by the wicked servant. Then she was powerless no more. And so she was able to exact a merciless retribution from the guilty servant and become herself the Queen in her place.

Behind all these tales there is an Osiris motif. When Seth overcame Osiris at Nedit he seems to have plucked out his eyes to deprive him of every vestige of energy in the same manner as he later treated Horus. (1) But having found Osiris in that powerless state Horus offered him his Eye that he could see with it. Besides the sense of seeing, the Eye of Horus endowed him with great might that struck terror in his enemies' hearts.

(1) Pyr. 1212; Infra, p.153.

"Horus hath given thee his eye, the hard (one);
(he) hath placed it to thee (i.e. in thy hand),
that thou mayest be strong, and that all thine
enemies may fear thee.

Horus hath completely filled thee with his eye,
in this its name of 'W3ht (=offering) of god.'"⁽¹⁾

It is worth noting that the Merchant's Daughter was able to restore her eye-sight by spitting on the eyes before fixing them in their sockets again. The wonderful miracle saliva works in a case like this was common in Egyptian mythology and in Christianity as well. In Egyptian religion, water is the source of creation, and it is also equated with both semen and saliva for the same purpose as we have seen in the case of Atum's masturbation.⁽²⁾ To purify Pharaoh not only water was needed but also saliva to endow him with a new life. Hathōr purified Queen Hashepsowē with her tongue.⁽³⁾ The deceased Osiris is said to have been purified with the saliva of Horus and Seth.⁽⁴⁾ Rē

(1) Pyr. 614; cf. Pyr. 578-79.

(2) Pyr. 1652, 1871. Supra, pp.44 ff.

(3) Urk. IV, 239-40; cf. Blackman, Proc. SBA XI, 89, n. 102; Frankfort, Cenotaph of Seti I, I, p. 36; Vol. II, Pl. 85, l. 41 (Text).

(4) Pyr. 850-51; cf. Breasted, Development, p. 40.

and possibly Ptah created gods and men from saliva.⁽¹⁾ The element capable of creating gods and men, therefore, is not less potent to heal their wounds and cure their ills. With saliva the Egyptians believed that lost eye-sight could be recovered. When Rē^c wanted to heal his hurt eye he spat on it and it was healed. A Text from Edfu runs:

"at that fair time of the month Epiphi, on the day of establishing the Eye, when Rē^c speaks to his sister to come. The eye is complete in its place. On that day of spitting (i.e. healing) the Divine Damaged Eye, when the great greeting is spoken at the door of the temple of the b(i)nw."⁽²⁾

Another tradition says that when the eye of Rē^c was lost, it was Thoth who brought it back and healed it by spitting on it.⁽³⁾ In their struggle Horus' eye was plucked out by Seth. But when Thoth (or Rē^c?) took it from Seth he gave it to Horus and spat on it that he might see again.⁽⁴⁾ It is also related that in the

(1) Supra, pp. 43;53.

(2) Trans. Rundle Clark, op. cit., II, p. 130.

(3) Bk Dead 17, ll. 71-4; cf. Budge, Egyptian Hieratic Papyri, p. XIV; Osiris II, p. 203.

(4) Pyr. 142; cf. Budge, Osiris I, p. 105.

Roman period Vespasian cured a blind man by spitting on his
(1)
eyes.

In the New Testament healing by saliva is mentioned in two places in Palestine, namely at the sea of Galilee and at Bethsaida, where Jesus did miraculous deeds. In the first he cured a deaf and dumb man: "And He took him aside from the multitude and put his fingers into his ears, and he spit and touched his tongue." (2) In the second "He took the blind man by the hand, and led him out of the town; and when he had spit on his eyes, and put his hand upon him, he asked him if he saw (3)
ought." The man suffered no more from blindness.

In the same manner milk was used for both purifying the deceased (4) and healing a damaged eye. When Osiris was purified with milk, this was identified with water and his exudations as well.

(1) Tacitus, Hist. IV, 81; Suetonius, Divus Vespasianus 7.

(2) St. Mark VII, 31-5.

(3) Ibid., VIII, 22-6; cf. St. John IX, 6.

(4) Bk Dead 169, l. 7; cf. Blackman, Purification, p. 479, V, (2, (e) (i)

"Raise thee up, my father. Thy water for thee, thine abundance (bch) for thee, thy milk for thee, which is in the breasts of thy mother, Isis....
Awake, O Atoti! Raise thee up!"⁽¹⁾

Milk, the prototype of which is Isis' milk, was capable not only of bringing the deceased back to life⁽²⁾ but also of curing a person suffering from the pangs of death.⁽³⁾ Like saliva, it is also possessed of this curative power. When the eyes of Horus were put out by Seth, Hathōr who found him lying on the mountain crying with pain, restored his sight to him with the milk of a gazelle.⁽⁴⁾

But the major crime in all these stories, a crime whose motive and circumstances are surprisingly analogous with those related by Plutarch, is the crime of dismemberment. Seth commits it to get the

(1) Pyr. 734, trans. Blackman, Rec. trav. XXXIX, 60; cf. Moret, Ann. Mus. Guimet, XXXII, 136; Pierret, Etudes égyptologique, Paris, 1878, p. 116 (8ème livraison).

(2) Pyr. 734, 1282, 1354, 1375; Junker, Götterdekret, pp. 9 ff.

(3) Garnot, J.S.F., Deux vases égyptiens représentant une femme tenant un enfant sur ses genoux, in Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard, t. II, Paris, 1949, p. 913 with n. 5; Schott, S., Das Löschchen von Fackeln in Milch, in ZAS LXXIII, 1-25.

(4) Gard., P. Chester Beatty, I, 10. 5-10. 10.

crown, and the maid-servant commits it to become the wife of the King. One of the commonest stratagems found in these folk-tales to effect this crime is the holding of a feast to entrap the unwilling hero or heroine. But alone of all the victims in these tales the blind girl, in the Tale of the Merchant's Daughter and the Servant, is aware of her impending fate. Before she departs to the banquet, she says to the old man, her foster-father, "I shall soon be alive no more. They will kill me and cut me in small pieces. You must get up early, make a coffin, collect the pieces of my body, and bury them." When she went to the palace, she told the guard to cut her up quickly! To destroy her completely and to carry out the false Queen's order to the letter, they removed her heart. Her grave took the shape of a hummock, as did the tomb of Osiris, - the shepherd had buried her in a dung-heap.

Yet resurrection, before it takes place, had to be preceded by a natural phenomenon. The girl's body, like Osiris', endows her graveyard with fertility. "There was no girl, and only where she was buried had a garden grown." By order of the Queen the garden had to be cut down, in the belief that her rival entombed in it will consequently be destroyed. But the garden is transformed into a young boy and the boy into the Merchant's Daughter. When she tells her story to the King, he falls in love with her and marries her. The false wife is then severely punished for her crimes.

The parallel between Ivan's tale and Bata's is unquestionable. Both men were young, beautiful, wise and of good breeding, and both suffered the same mishaps and underwent the same metamorphoses. Like the Merchant's Daughter and Bata, Ivan could prophesy what would come to him after his kidnap by the Sultan of Turkey, and to both of them their faithful beasts proved helpful in time of need. Moreover, they both suffered much from the ill-treatment of their treacherous wives. Both had defeated huge armies on more than one occasion before they met their death on losing their magic power: Bata's heart fell onto the ground, and Ivan's sword was stolen from him by the Sultan disguised as a beggar. They were both, furthermore, indebted to water for their resurrection. Ivan's horse told his father of his impending death, and explained to him how he should bring him back to life. "When crows come to devour me," said the horse, "you must catch one, and make it fetch the life-giving water." Although Ivan had assumed both the form of a horse, and then later the form of a bull, he nevertheless met his death at the instigation of his unfaithful wife, who had entered the Sultan's harem. The bull's head, having been buried in the garden, grew into a beautiful apple-tree. In spite of being put to death he was able to assume the form of a duck and swim in the pond. With the aid of this last metamorphosis and the water of the pond he was finally restored to his ultimate human form. The doom of Bata's wife was as fatal as that of Cleopatra, Ivan's faithless wife.

CHAPTER VII

THE TREE AS A RETREAT

So far we have discerned how Osiris was intimately connected with the inundation and considered as a water-god, thus absorbing in himself the inundation divinity Ha^cpy, and the primal waters of Nun. In rituals the inundation was regarded as his "exudations", that is to say the moisture from his body which was buried at the sources of the Nile. To come back to life, the deceased, like Osiris himself, had to recover by lustral washing and libations his exudations (or Osiris' own, or both his and Osiris') which effected the union of his limbs. Likewise Osiris, being inherent in the inundation, could revive the dry and almost dying land of Egypt by giving it the water of life and fertilizing it with his vital liquid. Man and beast rejoiced at the inundation, as by it they would be nourished, delivered from imminent famine, and endowed with fertility, Nature's symbol of everlasting life. Consequently human and natural life knew no end. Through association with Osiris the Egyptian, king or individual, lived and died with Nature to live again immediately after death. This end could be attained provided certain rites were performed at the proper times.

The Egyptian however sought immortality in another part of Nature than water: he based his hopes for new life in the hereafter in vegetation also. Here again, Osiris, the bestower of immortality,

can be seen closely linked up with the Egyptian solar cosmogony. Though Osiris appropriates certain attributes and assumes certain forms originally pertaining to the sun-god, yet he again appears to have been closer and dearer to his people's hearts than $\text{R}\bar{e}^c$ since the Fifth Dynasty. In connection with Osiris' position as a vegetation deity, vegetation will here be treated in its twofold manifestation - trees and corn. As we shall see, trees strongly unite Osiris in general with the Universe and in particular with the solar creator, while corn connects him with the earthly life of the Egyptians. Yet both have one common function to emphasize at the same time his cosmogonic aspect - resurrection, in which is evident the interdependence of Cosmos and Man, Nature and Society - gods, kings and men - all having to pass the vicissitudes of destruction and rebirth, death and resurrection. ⁽¹⁾

In the foregoing pages we have pointed out that the first Egyptian creator, the sun-god, "at the first time" emerged from the abysmal waters to stand on a resurgent piece of land of his own creation in order to create gods and men. The Egyptian mythopoeic mind was broad enough to allow a multiplicity of objects to represent

(1) Cf. Frankfort, H., The Birth of Civilisation in the Ancient Near East, London, 1951, p. 31.

the primal hillock. Each of these objects played the same rôle, that of lifting the solar creator clear of chaos, darkness, death, or "nothingness"; serving as a harbinger of a new Universe and new life. Amongst these objects was the tree, a tree appearing with different names, be it isd (persea), sn̄d (acacia), c̄s ("cedar" or juniper), nbs (Christ's thorn, the "jujube" tree), n̄crt (pomegranate), isr (tamarisk) pkr (sesame(?)), b3k (olive), i(3)m (date-palm(?)), nht (sycomore) or trt ("safsa^f"),⁽¹⁾ and growing in different places - in heaven, on earth, or under the earth. To the Egyptians the Universe is an integral entity, in spite of the confusion that we might suppose would be caused in their minds by the apparent

(1) The exact identity of some of these trees is dubious. They are here discussed only from the religious aspect, not from the botanical. Some of the botanical discussions, for example, are isd, Beauverie, Bull. Inst. fr. XXXV, 133-34; Keimer, Ann. Serv. Cahier V, 35-46; c̄s, Gardiner, On., I, 8n. 1; Loret, op. cit., 60-65; Chabas, Rev. arch. IV, 47-51; Ducros, Ann. Serv. XIV, 1-12; Loret, Ann. Serv. XVI, 33-51; Daressy, Ann. Serv. XVII, 25-8; Horrack, Rev. arch. IX, 44-51; Jacquemin, K̄emi IV, 113-18; isr, Loret, Rec. trav. XVI, 11-4; sn̄d, Loret, Rec. trav. II, 60-65; Keimer, Bull. Soc. roy. Géog. XVIII, 85-95; nbs, Ahmad Kamāl, Ann. Serv. XII, 240-44; Junker, Giza I-VIII, passim; Beauverie, op. cit., 140-41; Maspero, Bibl. Égyptol. XXVII, 336-42; Keimer, op. cit., 26-7; Keimer, Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Aegypten, Hamburg, 1924, pp. 44, 64, 115; 160; 184; pkr, Loret, Rec. trav. IV, 21 and n.6; cf. also Schäfer; ZAS XII, 107 ff.; Blackman, JEA IV, 123 n. 2; b3k Loret, Rec. trav. VII, 101-06; Dubois, Ch. L'olivier et l'huile d'olive dans l'ancienne Égypte, in Revue de Philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes, Paris, 1925-27, t., 49, pp. 60-83; t. 53, pp. 7-49; Keimer, op. cit., 23; Sethe, Dram. Texte II, 145; nht, Beauverie, op. cit., 133-34; Keimer, op. cit., 23-4; trt, Keimer, Bull. Inst. fr. XXXI, 177-237.

inconsistency of their theology. From the outset the sun-god, par excellence, is the owner of the cosmogonic tree, the tree which he used to stand on before rising in the east of the sky.

In ritual scenes he is therefore depicted as "gloriously appearing" from the top of a heavenly tree⁽¹⁾ (fig. 45). In Chapter 64 of the Book of the Dead Re^c says of himself, "I have embraced the sycomore and I have joined the sycomore."⁽²⁾ He may also rise from between two sycomore-trees:

"I know the two trees of turquoise between which Re^c cometh forth when he goeth forward over stsw-kw⁽³⁾ (the supports of Shu, i.e. the supports on which Shu holds up Nut, the sky) towards that gate of the lord of the East, out of which Re^c cometh."⁽⁴⁾

That the two celestial trees serve as a door for the sun-god

(1) JEA XVII, 72; Mercer, op. cit., p. 241, n. 32; Guieysse, Rituel funéraire égyptien, chap. 64^e, Pl. 2-4; Bk Dead 64; Leps., Todt. 109.

(2) Buhl, Marie-Louise, in JNES VI, 88.

(3) Erman, Hymnen an das Diadem, p. 23 = Erman-Blackman, Literature, p. 11; Bk Dead 17, 11. 8-9, 56, 123-24; P. Bremner-Rhind, 26. 16 = Faulkner, JEA XXIII, 172.

(4) Bk Dead 109, l. 5; 149 II. 11. 8-10; Leps., Denkm. I, 4-9; CT 159, 161; JNES VI, 88; Sethe, ZAS LIX, 4 ff., 38 ff.; Kees, Aegypten, p. 52; Weill, op. cit., p. 73; De Buck, Zegepraal, p. 33.

in the east is clear from a comparison between fig. 46 and fig. 47. In fig. 46 the sun-god is born each morning from the sky-goddess' body before rising between the two trees, or as the texts say, "He openeth the two thighs of his mother Nut and cometh out to shine from her hind part."⁽¹⁾ The rising of the sun-god from between his two sycomore-trees of turquoise is represented in the tomb of Sennūdjem at Deir el-Madinah (Tomb 1). He issues from between the two trees in his boat with a black and white calf behind him bearing Harakhti, another of his manifestations at rising. The solardisc is at the same time climbing up to the tops of the trees.⁽²⁾ A somewhat similar representation appears as a vignette in the Book of the Dead, Chap. I09/ (fig. 48). Here the bark must be understood as proceeding towards the two trees before emerging again from between them.⁽³⁾

As a further proof of the Egyptian mind's attempt at the unification of the divers cosmic elements such as heaven and earth,

(1) De Buck, op. cit., pp. 40, 42; P. Berlin 3050, III, 4; Chass., Edfou, I, 41, 286, 295, 482; Sethe, Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne, Berlin, 1928, pp. 8-9.

(2) Campbell, Colin, The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-Hotep III and Other Egyptian Studies, London, 1912, pp. 156-57; Pl. facing p. 157. In the Pyramid Texts the sun-god is said to rise from two mountains. Pyr. 2064.

(3) It is also said that the prow of the sun-god's ship is made of the wood of the i⁴³m-tree, while her stern of that of the Snbt-tree. Naville, Mythe d'Horus, 16, 4-5.

celestial bodies and earthly things, divine life and mundane existence, life and death, the notion of the sun's epiphany from between two heavenly trees finds felicitous expression in both Egyptian architecture and literature. Before a god's temple, two trees, mostly persea-trees, were usually planted at the gate, which opened on to the temple avenue which was flanked by rows of Sphinxes. It has been shown that the latter are images representing both the solar deity immanent in the person of Pharaoh, and also Pharaoh immanent in the solar deity,⁽¹⁾ and they direct the sun-god in his bark and his cortège to pay a visit to the god's Sanctuary (fig. 49). Hashepsow's temple is a clear example of this arrangement in the Eighteenth Dynasty. Its prototype is the Old-Kingdom solar temple at Heliopolis, the sphinx being the representation in stone of the sun-god Re^{C} -Atum immanent in the King. At Heliopolis when the solar deity was identified with another solar god, Harakhti (fig. 50)⁽²⁾ he was called Re^{C} -Harakhti. Before Pharaoh's palace two sacred trees were likewise planted, and a number of sphinxes set up for the same ritual purpose, for Pharaoh was considered as the embodiment of the sun-god on earth,⁽³⁾ and in the Old Kingdom also he was called Harakhti after his death, besides his identification with Osiris.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Gariner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, note to Sin B. 249.

(2) De Buck, op. cit., p. 12.

(3) Pyr. 160; cf. Bk Dead 17, l. 116.

(4) Selim Hassan, Excavations at Giza, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 43; cf. _____, The Sphinx, p. 139.

Thus Sinuhe, in the Egyptian tale, when he was conducted to the royal palace, placed his forehead to the ground at the gate "Between the sphinxes."⁽¹⁾

The Tale of the Two Brothers, a literary production of the New Kingdom, throws a flood of light on this religious conception which vindicates, in spite of its Osirian traits, its solar background. From two drops of blood fallen from the slaughtered body of the bull, Bata's incarnation, two persea-trees grew up "beside the two steps of the portal of his Majesty, and the one fell upon the one side of the great portal of Pharaoh and the other upon the other. And they grew into two great persea-trees, each of which was excellent."⁽²⁾ It is interesting to see what happened thereafter. Pharaoh was informed of those two trees that grew up "as a great marvel" during the night by his great door. They were held to be so holy that offerings were made to them, and both Pharaoh and his concubine, Bata's wife, sat under them. This latter incident is certainly a striking reminiscence of the custom of the representation of the deceased and his wife sitting under a

(1) It is interesting to observe that the word "sphinx" is derived from the Egyptian šsp ^{cnh} or šspr ^{cnh} "a statue to the life or living image." Pharaoh was called the "living sphinx-image of Atum." Cf. partly Gardiner, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe, note to B 249 = Proc. SBA XXXVIII, 92-4; and partly Selim Hassan, The Sphinx, p. 130.

(2) P. D'Orbigny 16, 9-17, 1 = Erman-Blackman, Literature, p. 159.

tree. This scene may on the face of it indicate no more than that the deceased wished to enjoy in the next world the pleasures of sitting in the shade as he did on earth, but trees in the other world are often more than mere dispensers of shade: they are sacred, and they are the dwellings of friendly spirits, the spirits of the deceased themselves, and of gods. We shall return to this point later. ⁽¹⁾ The two trees of Re^c , both in heaven and on earth, are likened by the Egyptians to the two door-leaves of the temple which were opened at dawn for the morning rising of the sun-god.

"The two door-leaves are open, the doors are open for Re^c that he may come forth from the horizon." ⁽²⁾

We should bear in mind that the same god is born as a naked babe every morning from a flower. Thus he is represented emerging from, or sitting in or on the bud of a lotus-flower blooming in water (figs. 51, 52). The emergence of the sun-god as a babe from a lotus-flower in water (or $\text{N}un$) was always associated with the creation of the god himself first, and the other gods and men afterwards.

(1) Infra, pp. 154, 170.

(2) Leps., Todt. 130, l. 2; cf. Pyr. 1252; CT 159; Bk Dead 17, ll. 57-8; 107, l. 1; cf. Schiaparelli, Il libro dei funerali, p. 217.

"He shaped his body like that of a sacred child
that came out of a lotus-flower from the middle
of Nūn. He lifted the lands with his two eyes." ⁽¹⁾

Another tradition is that he created gods from his mouth
and men from his eyes. In the above text the sun-god is
described as coming out from the lotus-flower in Nūn in
order to illuminate from above the dark space and the lands,
the home of his creations. In a hymn to him from the New
Kingdom the ideas of emergence and creation are expressed side
by side:

"Youth who spendest eternity, who didst emerge
from the Primal Waters while the earth was in
darkness. Thou through the radiance of the pupil
of whose eye(s) one seeth, from whose mouth proceed
the gods and from whose eye mankind." ⁽²⁾

This cosmogonic notion occurs in an illustration in an Edfu
text showing the Hermopolitan Ogdoad in the company of the sun-
god squatting on the petals of a lotus-flower. The legend
explaining this representation runs as follows:

(1) Drioton, Ann. Serv., XLIV, 117.

(2) P. Berlin 3049, II, 5-6. P. Bremner-Rhind 27, 2-3 = JEA
XXIII, 172; 29, 3-4 = JEA XXIV, 41. Cf. Moret, Rituel,
p. 154.

"Re^c the Behdetite.... Harakhti.... he openeth his eyes and illuminateth the Two Lands; he hath separated night from day. Gods come forth from his mouth, and men from his eyes. He shineth forth from the lotus-flower."⁽¹⁾

When the sun-god sets, he is said to go back to his dwelling, the is-tree in the Underworld, where he rests till the next morning. Osiris, who lives and reigns in that part, also dwells in the is-tree, which may be considered as his tomb there.

"Thou hearest the jubilation in the land of the sacred is-tree where thou makest thy retreat, and in the shade of which thy body resteth."⁽²⁾

(1) Lepsius, Über die Götter der vier Elemente bei den Aegyptern, Berlin, 1857, p. 191, Pl. 1; cf. Egyp. Rel. I (1933) No. I, 8 (figs. 1,2); cf. Erman, A Handbook of Egyptian Religion, London 1907 (trans. Griffith, A.S.), p. 26 with fig. 33. As to the sun-god sitting on the papyrus-flower see CT 80, l. 34, Todt. (Nav.) 81; cf. Moret, Mystères égyptiens, p. 112.

(2) Mar., Dend., IV, Pl. 73, l. 33.

In the folk-tales parallel to Plutarch's story of Isis and Osiris, the two trees standing before the door of a king's or prince's house are absent. There are several reasons for this. In the first place they stand for a certain religious concept peculiar to Egypt. Their absence does not therefore invalidate the parallelism, as one would not expect to find them outside of Egypt. There is however, one tree, in each case. As far as the Osiris story is concerned, Osiris' body went abroad to Byblus, and the two trees of the Egyptian concept are replaced there by the one tree that embraced his coffer. In the Tale of the Two Brothers there are two trees because the story is in Egypt and is in conformity with Egyptian thought. But apart from the consideration of the two trees of the Egyptian solar concept, Osiris did in fact have associations with one single tree, for in all those places where according to the local legend his complete body as distinct from a dismembered limb was supposed to have been buried, there grew on his grave a single tree. Further, whether or not the folk-tales which have an Osirian flavour were originally off-shoots of the Osirian myth, at least it is likely that they were ultimately reanimated by Plutarch's writings, for these were widely read in the classical world. Plutarch gives only that side of the Egyptian story which contains one central figure; the Tale of the Two Brothers, which is not constructed on this model is not in Plutarch. This therefore may be a reason why these folk-tales have only one leading character - and

in consequence, one may add, a single tree into which this leading personality is transformed.

Thus the tree of Osiris at Byblus seems to be the prototype of the trees in our folk-tales. Trees are well known for both their utility and their ornamental value. They enhance the beauty of the garden, and their wood is of great use. In Plutarch's De Iside, the erika-tree gives the King's palace and garden a pleasant appearance, and at the same time hides and protects Osiris. The trees in the folk-tales likewise protect the leading character from persecution. Later the erika-tree is used as a pillar in the King's room. In the folk-tale of the Widower's Daughter a tree is felled by carpenters to make a hollow pillar for the new house which is to be built for the wedding of father and daughter. Though Man in this case interferes with the natural existence of the tree, the tree preserves its substance as wood to be made by Man into a pillar. Osiris' box is made of wood and is hermetically sealed that it can float and travel across the sea to a foreign land, to be identified with the erika-tree of Malcander, King of Byblus. In the same tale, the pillar, having been thrown into the sea with the girl inside, is washed onto the shore and found by the Prince of the land. He takes it to support the roof of his room. The similarity between this tale and Plutarch's narrative cannot be fortuitous. In the Tale of the

Three Lemons, the Lemon-Girl (in the Turkish version) at first turns into a dove, but is afterwards killed by the false Queen's command. From her blood "a great cypress tree grows up." The Arab⁽¹⁾ girl says to the King: "Let a cradle be made for my child from the cypress tree, and from no other tree but that!" "The cradle is made." The Lemon-Girl (in the Italian version) after being transformed into a pigeon, is cooked in boiling water from which sprouts a lemon-tree in the King's garden. Here the apparent uselessness of the tree in the Italian tale may be explained by the fact that it is a special kind of tree that has to bear lemons in order to remind the King's son of his recent love adventure. The King's son at first suspects that the black girl is his bride. It is probable that he becomes more and more restless about this matter until the appearance of the lemons on the new lemon-tree stimulates and confirms the doubts he has suppressed in his unconscious mind and brings them to the surface. He thereupon repeats the experiment on the third lemon, as he was recommended to do by the old woman at the beginning of the story. Soon it changes into a human being, the rightful bride. Here the tree is not cut down, but it is the lemons that are plucked. In the Turkish longer version, the tree is felled that a cradle may be manufactured for

(1) A contemptuous epithet in folk-lore like "Turk" and "Black"; see Brewer, E.C., A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, London, pp. 57, 1099, 139.

the new-born prince. In this way the Turkish version comes very much nearer to the Egyptian tale of the Two Brothers than the Italian one.

The Lemon-Girl (Turkish)

(1) The leading person (the Lemon-Girl) is transformed into an animal (dove).

(2) The dove (the Lemon-Girl) is butchered and from its blood a (cypress) tree springs up.

(3) The tree is struck down to be made into a cradle.

(4) From the pile of its branches the Lemon-Girl comes into being again.

Thus while episodes (3) and (4) appear to be lacking in the Italian version of the Tale of the Three Lemons, in the Turkish version the analogy is complete.

When Bata returns to Egypt from Syria, he assumes the shape of a powerful, good-looking bull, and discloses his real identity to his wife in the royal kitchen. In order to get rid of him, she incites Pharaoh to kill the bull and make a meal of it. From two drops of his blood two persea-trees spring up, in which Bata again

The Tale of the Two Brothers

(1) The central character (Bata) is changed into an animal (Bull).

(2) The bull (Bata) is slaughtered and from its blood two persea-trees shoot up.

(3) The persea-trees are cut down to be made into furniture.

(4) From a splinter of the trees Bata is resurrected.

conceals himself. This temporarily contents her, since she believes that by having the bull sacrificed she may quell her overwhelming anxiety. But, unfortunately for her, another metamorphosis into a human form has to occur as a sign of resurrection and a harbinger of truth, order and justice, and soon afterwards her suspicions are once more aroused towards the persea-trees. She persuades the King to have them felled in order to have new furniture made from their wood. As one of the trees is cut down, a splinter enters into her body and makes her pregnant. In 1931 Vikentiev denied that

in the Egyptian text at this point (P. d'Orbigny 18, 4) meant "splinter" but attempted to show that it was a corruption of

*  w^c md3. The last word, which, be it noted, is his own invention, he explained as a "phonetic variant" of mt3 "genital organ", and then by a further stretch of the imagination hit upon the idea that "genital organ" here meant pollen or stamen, on the ground that "to swallow a stamen was easy". (1)

Surely there is no need for such extremes of ingenuity, or any reason for abandoning the accepted rendering of "chip" or "splinter" (Wb. II, 377, 8), which gives the reference to P. Kah 16, 3  "splinters or chips of stone."

 is a quite likely variant N.K. spelling of nd3. There is in fact in Egyptian a word

*

(1) JEA XVII, 72-3.

m^cd3 which may be postulated to have existed as far back as Ramesside times, but which meant "profit", or the like, as well as being a measure of capacity for dates and (in the form of the Coptic word maaxe) for dry goods. (1) But a chip or splinter may just as easily be small enough to swallow: it may have been no bigger than a speck of sawdust.

In spite of Vikentiev's ingenious explanation he seems to have experienced some uncertainty of mind after he had committed his view to writing. This mood is conspicuous in his 1949 work entitled "Le conte égyptien des deux frères et quelques histoires apparentées. (Bull. Fac. Art. Cairo, XI,) where he says on page 90: "Bata sous forme de copeau (chip of wood), d'éclat de bois (splinter of wood), de fruit (fruit) ou de pollen (pollen), provenant de l'arbre abattu pénètre dans le sein de la fille perfide par la bouche."

In the end (to return to the tale) the woman gives birth to Bata himself. In mythology and folklore wrong never goes unpunished, and Bata inflicts retribution on her for her recurrent wilful attempts on his life. In this tale blood as well as water is a means of resurrection.

(1) Gardiner, JEA XXVI, 157-58; On., I, 66* II, 225*

The Little Fool, a girl in the Tale of the Silver Saucer and the Crystal Apple is buried in the forest. Flowers and bulrushes grow on the grave and the ruby-red and azure covering looks very beautiful. Moreover, these are useful in the story as well as decorative, one of the bulrushes being used by a young shepherd as a pipe which, when played, tells the sad story (1) of the girl, and unravels the mystery about her death.

(1) Cf. JEA XVII, 72.

CHAPTER VIII

SOULS AS BIRDS IN TREES

The city of Heliopolis was fancied as the sun-god's "horizon". There are texts which make clear that it also abounded in various kinds of trees, the most important of which were the ȝsd or persea-trees (ȝsdw nw R^c). There the god had his own temple also, called Hwt bīnw "the House of the Phoenix", which contained the sacred trees. R^c may appear on the horizon beside the trees, which are called "the sacred ȝsd-trees beside R^c at the eternal horizon."⁽¹⁾ The horizon (fig. 53)⁽²⁾ and the tree (or trees), both earthly and heavenly, have doors.

Any temple may be a "horizon": thus it is said of the temple of Karnak, "I know that it is the horizon, the ipt swt (i.e. Karnak) on earth,"⁽³⁾ and "the doors of heaven are opened in the ipt swt".⁽⁴⁾ Just as temple and horizon have doors that

(1) P. Louvre 5158, p.X, l. 1 = Maspero, Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, Paris, 1875, p. 46.

(2) Todb. Pl. 28 (vignette). The pools in the drawing are of course to be interpreted as horizontal, one on each side of the double door. The sun-disc is emerging from between the leaves of the door. (Cf. fig. 54.)

(3) Leps., Denkm. III, 24, 88.

(4) Ibid.; cf. Pyr. 1078.

open for the sun-god, and as they are both identified with the celestial solar-tree, so the latter necessarily has a door. The Egyptian is often "mythological" in a sense higher than that which the word normally connotes: he is not merely "versed in mythical lore"⁽¹⁾ but he is "logical" about it, and therefore sees the isdt-tree with doors  . An instance is found in the Metternich Stela⁽²⁾ which relates that the keepers of the doors were one day startled by the cry of Horus who had been stung by a scorpion in the field of Heliopolis. At Heliopolis the tree was considered as his temple, the "House of the Phoenix," and this moreover contained a pyramidion such as is often represented supporting the god's solar disc  or his bird, the phoenix.⁽³⁾ At Edfu, the priest guiding the King to the temple to worship says to him: "I am opening the way of the firmament before thee; I am opening the doors of thy heaven. Walk in in peace."⁽⁴⁾ In the Egyptian mind temple, horizon, heaven, and tree can all have the same ritual significance. That tree sometimes means temple is clear from fig. 55 where Shu is seen standing (accompanied by Tfēnet,

(1) Liddell and Scott S.V. μυθολογίας .

(2) Golénischeff; Die Metternichstele, ll. 89-93; cf. Budge, Fetish, p. 497.

(3) Pyr. 1818; 1248; cf. Breasted, Development, p. 11.

(4) Rochem, Edfou, 564.

according to the legend) in his shrine in the tree.

When Pharaoh goes to the solar temple to officiate, he is said to have gone to the isid-tree: for instance, in fig. 85 (Leps., Denkm. III, 37) Tuthmosis III is led to the isid-tree by Atum and Hathōr, and the legend speaks of the proceeding of Pharaoh to the Great Temple  . The identification of the tree with the temple is likewise expressed with great clarity on monuments. In fig. 56 (Leps., Denkm. V, 37) Pharaoh may be seen worshipping the sun-god before a tree: he makes a libation to the tree and then proceeds to the temple, where the sun-god appears in the form of two birds, a falcon crowned with the solar disc, and a phoenix. Before the king stands the god's emblem - the obelisk.⁽¹⁾ The obelisk and the tree (which should normally have been re-duplicated here but for the Egyptian conventional way of artistic expression) announce, as it were, the sun-god's appearance at day-break and usher him into his residence at the end of his journey. Osiris, by standing at once between two obelisks and in a tree, shows that he deliberately

(1) Cf. Bk Dead 47 (vign.). The example reproduced in fig. 56 is unfortunately of Meroitic date from the pyramid of Ergamenes at Meroe. It is extremely doubtful whether the Meroites understood much of the traditions they had received from Egypt. But the Egyptian tradition is very clearly portrayed in this tomb chapel, and Ergamenes, unlike many Meroitic kings, is known to have had connexions with Egypt. Diodorus III, 6.

identifies himself with the sun-god and claims his obelisk and tree (fig. 57).⁽¹⁾ In the same manner the tomb of the deceased, a good example of which is that of "Tetaky"  at Dira^c Abu-al Naga (early Eighteenth Dynasty) is represented in the other world with a pair of obelisks and a couple of trees in front for his exit and entrance, thus simulating the structure and function of a temple (fig. 58).⁽²⁾ The god's soul is represented by a phoenix,⁽³⁾ and the manifestation of the soul as a bird, a belief common in ancient and modern mortuary traditions and folklore, shows yet a further connection with trees.

According to the Korān, men will be resurrected and judged at Doomsday. Those who are proved to have been righteous (after their deeds have been weighed in the scales of justice, as in ancient Egyptian religion)⁽⁴⁾ shall be sent to Paradise, those

(1) Müller, M., Egyptian Mythology, London, p. 94.

(2) Davies, The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes (No. 15), in JEA XI, 10-18.

(3) Bk Dead 17, 29 B.

(4) The Egyptian idea of "weighing the souls" is preserved by Greek mythology (ψυχοτροπία). It was then interwoven with early Christianity to find artistic expression in some of the representations of mediaeval churches and cathedrals on the Continent and in England as well. There St. Michael is seen holding a balance and weighing the destinies of a dead man. Near him, Satan and other evil spirits are waiting for the result of the proceeding. They vainly try to bribe the impartial archangel by saying: "Lord Michael deliver to us our prey, and declare it to be ours."

less fortunate, to Hell. Life in the Moslem Paradise is exceedingly sumptuous and carefree - the believers are promised that they shall lead a felicitous and luxurious life in gardens from beneath which rivers run, and enjoy wine, honey and milk in the shade of trees laden with fruit. They shall take as many wives as they please, even a hundred if they wish, and be waited on by beautiful girls and handsome children. This picture of the Mohammedan Paradise has many similarities with the Egyptian pagan one, since in both of them the deceased enjoys the shade and food generously offered by trees.

One of the most poetical scenes of life in the hereafter is admirably delineated verbally and pictorially in a private tomb⁽¹⁾ of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is full of representations and ideas which may seem at first sight to contradict one another, but which are in fact only different aspects of the same things. Thus in it Nut who promises to care for the deceased Ken-Amün

= Representations of the Weighing of the Soul after Death, pp. 25-6) rightly says, "The idea which prevails in the representations on the ecclesiastical monuments.... does not seem to have been derived from the Greek mythology, in which it is scarcely to be recognized, but to have come directly from an Egyptian source, and no doubt it passed from Alexandria itself into the popular creed of the early Christians."

The "Egyptian source" referred to by Nash is unquestionably the judgment-hall of Osiris.

(1) Davies, Tomb of Kenamün, (Tomb 93) Pls. 45-46.

as his mother, appears not only in the guise of a sycomore-tree, but also as a sky-goddess with human form; again, she promises him things both material and eternal; the deceased will live on earth under a sycomore-tree and in heaven both as a young person, and as an excellent spirit; and again he is to be both the god Osiris and a star in the suite of Re^c. The words of Nut, one of the best descriptions of the Egyptian's ideas of the hereafter, run as follows:

"For recitation by the Sycomore-tree: 'I am Nut, the high and great one in the horizon. I come to thee that I may greet thee, O overseer of the cattle (of Amūn, Ken-Amūn). Thou (sittest) under me that thou mayest cool thyself under my branches, that thou mayest be satisfied by (my) offerings; that thou mayest live by my bread and drink my beer. I allow thee to suck of my milk that thou mayest live, and be nourished from my breasts; for joy and health are therein, that they may enter in thee with life and dominion, as I did for my eldest son (Osiris). I give thee pleasure at earliest dawn with every happiness. There cometh unto thee Ha^cpy laden with offerings to the seat of him whose heart is weary. Brought

unto thee are thousands of things in thy house of eternity. Thy mother (i.e. Nut) provideth thee with life; she setteth thee within her womb wherein she conceiveth. The constellation 'The Nurse' receiveth thee unto her arms for her child (?), and the indefatigable stars cradle (M) thee. The imperishable stars say to thee, 'Come thou in peace, O excellent sprite!' A favourite is he who is coming, being safe and sound by the decree of Amān, O Osiris (Overseer of the cattle of Amān, Ken-Amān), justified. Take unto thee my bread; take unto thee my figs; ⁽¹⁾ take unto thee my k3w-fruit ⁽¹⁾; take unto thee my offerings; take unto thee my food-provisions; take unto thee my green things, take unto thee all good and pure things whereby thou livest, and art nourished. Take thou of them that thy heart be refreshed therewith for ever!" ⁽²⁾

(1) Both fruits of the oriental sycomore (*ficus sycomorus*). Keimer, Acta Orientalia 1928, 288-304, cf. Anc. Egypt 1928, 65-6.

(2) Davies, op. cit., p. 46, Pls. 45; 46.

The only remarkable difference between the Moslem paradise and the ancient Egyptian one is that in the Korān the soul of the deceased is not described as a bird in trees, as it is in ancient Egyptian belief, but rather as a good-looking man or woman, and that there is no mention of gods, as may be expected in a strictly monotheistic religion like Islām. But we shall be able to narrow the range of this difference, and bring the two religions nearer to each other if we carefully examine Mohammad's Traditions, a series of traditions concerning the sayings of Mohammad by different writers. The soul of a believer is described in one of them as "a bird in the trees of Paradise" **أنا نسمة المؤمن طائر في شجر الجنة** with a variant statement that the believers' souls dwell in green birds standing firm (or feeding, according to another interpretation) on the trees of Paradise: **أرواح المؤمنين في طير خضر تعلق في شجر الجنة** The two analogous and almost identical traditions are said to apply to believers in general and to martyrs in particular. The general meaning is not actually at variance with the Egyptian idea, since both talk about souls, birds, greenness, trees and tree-fruits, and, according to one exegesis, rivers frequented by the souls too. All these things are related to

one another in Nature, forming, as it were, parts of a single
(1)
Elysian landscape.

The idea that a soul is a bird is found also in Jewish religion. From Ezekiel 13, 17-23 we learn that sorceresses of Judah used to practise their magic on the souls of innocent people which were said to "hunt", and that the Lord, in rebuking them for this practice, desired that the souls be allowed to "fly". Thus it would seem that the souls were thought of as birds. When people came to these sorceresses for consultation, in order to hunt their souls the sorceresses tied their wrists with bands, and thus were described as "the women who sew bands upon all wrists," (2) i.e. who exercised their magic power on people, after they had hunted their souls. That the souls are birds seems also to be indicated by verse 18, "Will you hunt the souls of my people, and save souls alive for yourselves?" Cooke emends the text and replaces the word "souls" by "persons", basing his emendation on philological grounds, "nephesh" in the plural meaning "persons", but in Semitic languages

(1) Al-Nasa'i, Kitāb Sanan, 1312 A.H., Vol. I, p. 292; Ibn Majah, Sunan al-Mustafa, Vol. I, p. 443; Mālik b. Anas, Kitab al-Muwatta, with Zurkani's Commentary, Vol. II, p. 33.

(2) Cooke, G.A., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel, pp. 144-48. In the RV "Sew pillows to all armholes."

נפש originally meant and still means "souls". It may also mean "persons" as one may read in modern statistical census-tables, but this meaning is probably a later development from the original.

In our text the influence of black magic on souls is the main theme. A magician can by his black art subjugate the soul of a certain person to suffer a certain experience. His magic can for instance inflict injury on a person's soul, the effect being manifest on the body. A witch may act as a mediator, or in the Greek cosmogonic philosophy as an evil demon, an interpreter between gods and men, or between the dead and the living. The witchery that was rife in the fifth century B.C. in Judah had come from such pagan countries as Egypt and Babylon. In Egypt, a person after death became a spirit and a god, (1) and the spirit of a dead person or god might for some reason disturb the souls of the living. Hence the living had at times to implore one of their dead relations to protect them against it, such a person being "an excellent spirit", to defend their cause in case of false accusation before the gods when they died, or to protect their living household in this world. (2) Illness

(1) Speleers, Textes des cercueils, XVII, I p. 1; cf. Pyr. 781, 1713; also cf. Erman, A., Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele, Berlin, 1896, p. 71, II, 142-3 = Erman-Blackman, Literature, p. 92.

(2) Cf. Pyr. 827-29.

was believed to have been caused by the evil spirits of those who had not been properly buried.

"O Isis, great of magic, loose thou me, release thou me, from all things bad, evil and red (Typhonian)⁽¹⁾ from the stroke of a god, and the stroke of a goddess, from dead man or dead woman, from a male foe or female foe who may oppose himself to me."⁽²⁾

The victim of such magic is the soul, as is also the case with the witchcraft of the Jewish sorceresses in Ezekiel.

The influence of witchcraft on souls can be proved by the mention of offerings of "handfuls of barley and crumbled pieces

(1) Seth was called the "Red One" while Osiris was named the "Black One" and Isis his wife the "Black Lady". Wb. V, 369, 488; Wb. V, 124, 130; Pyr. 366, 628. Metternich Stele 11. 52, 64; Drioton, Le théâtre égyptien, 84, n. 1; Gard., Hier. Pap. Brit. Museum, 3rd series, 10-11; Lefèuvre, Rouge et nuances voisines, in JEA XXXV, 74; Faulkner, JEA XXIII, 167.

(2) P. Ebers 13-16 = Gardiner and Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, p. 12; also cf. the Middle Egyptian letter sent by a living wife to her dead husband about their sick serving-girl, asking him to fight with those (spirits) which had caused her illness, and so prevented her from accomplishing her domestic duties and from pouring out libations for him that "his household and children might be established afresh", Ibid., p. 7. Wiedemann, Alte Or. II, 7 ff.

of bread," on the assumption that because of these offerings Jahweh might condone their witchcraft. If the people's persons and not their souls were the victims of sorcery, then those offerings would have been given to the sorceresses as fees, but Prof. Cooke holds that they were made by the sorceresses themselves to Jahweh to grant them an oracle, which behaviour was absolutely abhorred by him as we can see from the following words:

"And you have profaned me among my people for handfuls of barley and for pieces of bread to slay the souls that should not die (i.e. the righteous), and to save the souls alive that should not live (i.e. the impious) by your lying to my people that hearken unto lies.

Wherefore thus saith the Lord God: Behold, I am against your pillows (i.e. bands) wherewith ye there hunt the souls to make them fly, and I will tear them from your arms, and I will let the souls go, even the souls ye hunt to make them fly."⁽¹⁾

It is most significant that according to Prof. Cooke the end of the verse has to be emended so as to read "into flying ones", and

(1) Ezekiel 13, 19, 20, trans. Cooke.

"from your (i.e. the sorceresses') arms" to be corrected to read "their (i.e. the People's) arms", the original mistake having been made by a copyist ignorant of the current magical practice.

The translation "birds" is, however, doubtful and not in the Greek version. Bertholet's commentary, Hesekiel, pp. 48-9 rejects the whole subject, but Hermann, J., Ezechiel, Leipzig-Erlangen, 1924, pp. 81-86, while saying that the word translated as "birds" is in any case a gloss, a commentary on the passage to explain that the souls were caught as birds or like birds, (1) almost agrees with us when he says "in this there seems somehow to be an allusion to the idea of the soul as a bird." With reference to the "handfuls of barley and morsels of bread" the consensus of opinion seems to be that these were paid to the sorceresses, who therefore betrayed Jahweh very cheaply. However, even if our interpretation be incorrect, the mere fact that such a simile should suggest itself is interesting when considered in the light of the ancient Egyptian and Islamic parallels.

In Egypt Gods other than Re^C are definitely said to sit as birds on the branches of sacred trees. A tradition is that the spirits of the dead sit in the shade of the sacred tree of

(1) Cf. Psalms XI, l. CXXIV. 7.

Heliopolis, i.e. the i(3)m-tree to have their meals. "To sit under the shade of the i(3)m-trees in Heliopolis" (1) is something promised to the blessed dead.

In some folk-tales the heroines may be transformed into birds at death. In the two versions of the Tale of the Three Lemons, the third Lemon-Girl tells the envious black Arab girl that she herself is waiting for the Prince to marry her. By a magic device the wicked rival changes her into a bird while they are sitting in a tree, and thus displaces her and marries her fiance, thinking that the other girl has met her doom.

In Egypt the souls of the dead are likewise changed either entirely into birds or into beings half bird, half man, with the characteristics of both - flying, eating and speaking. They are in fact like these birds figured on the ceiling of the Cenotaph of Sethos I at Abydus which represents Nut the sky-goddess, and described thus:

"These birds have faces like men,
But their nature is that of birds. One of them
Speaks to the other with words of weeping. -
Now after they come to eat vegetables and

(1) Champ., Not. descr., I, 774; cf. Pyr. 916;
CT 225; Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet, p. 102,
Pl. 27.

green stuff in Egypt, they flutter
Under the rays of heaven, and then
their shapes become bird-like."⁽¹⁾

Certain gods like Atum-Re^c, Thoth, and Horus are at times represented with birds' heads and human bodies. Moreover, Horus, Isis (figs.59,60), and Nephthys sometimes appear as birds, the two goddesses under the names of drty ("the Two Kites") or drt and h3t respectively from as early as the Pyramid age⁽²⁾ on. This was a particularly popular name for Isis even in the third century A.D.⁽³⁾ Isis and Nephthys are described in the funerary texts and pictured on the monuments as the Two Weepers who embrace, protect or lament Osiris or the deceased. Again Isis according to Plutarch⁽⁴⁾ changed herself into a sparrow, and with a wailing lament for Osiris, fluttered about the pillar-tree which concealed him and supported the ceiling of Malcander's room.⁽⁵⁾

The relation between a female bird and a male person or vice

(1) Frankfort, Cenotaph of Seti I, p. 73.

(2) Pyr. 230, 308, 312, 1255-56, 1280; cf. CT 24, 37; P. Chester Beatty I, 6, 12-7, 1.

(3) Municius Felix, Octavius, 22, 2.

(4) De Iside 357 C.

(5) Cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I, pp. 53-4, 59, 67-8.

versa may be the same relation as between a wife and a husband, or as between a mother and a son. As Isis in her capacity as a wife is represented in the temple of Sethos I at Abydus as a female hawk sitting ~~in~~ the phallus of her husband Osiris in order to conceive and give birth to Horus.⁽¹⁾ As a mother she is commonly represented sitting and suckling her son Horus on her knees, both deities being in human form (fig. 61). But it is of particular interest that Horus may also appear as a male hawk sucking his mother's breast (fig. 62). What is significant in both instances of Isis, as wife and mother, is that the conventional line of demarcation between the animal world and the human is, as in folk-tales, non-existent.

(1) Supra, p. 104 with fig.

CHAPTER IX

OSIRIS IN THE TREE

How, then, did Osiris take to himself the solar tree to serve as his funerary retreat? Osiris was a king deified after death, and it was said of him in several places, as of other extraordinarily great men, that he had been interred there after his dissection into a number of parts.⁽¹⁾ Each of these parts was buried in a different place, and this accounts, as Plutarch says, for the god's possession of many tombs in Egypt.⁽²⁾ It is also related, as we have noted already, that he was entombed in the sources of the Nile. A different version of the myth tells us that his corpse was buried complete in or under a sacred tree. Wherever he was buried, a tree shaded his tomb, different trees being sacred to Osiris in his various burial places such as near Philae (īwy) ~~وپا~~ ⁽³⁾ temple of Philae, at Denderah (ī(3)m)

(1) Diodorus (I, 21) thinks that they were twenty-six pieces; Mar., Dend., 268 ff., IV, Pls. 35-39 and p. 272 ff. = Loret, Rec. trav. III, 47, 52, 56.

They are enumerated as follows:

"His (i.e. Osiris') head, his feet, his bones, his arms, his heart, his stomach, his tongue, his eye, his fist, his fingers, his body, his back, his ears, his backbone, his head with the ram's head and his hair."

In some versions the last two are lacking.

(2) Cf. Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 198-200, 201.

(3) Junker, Götterdekret, p. 52.

¶ (1), at Abydos (pk̄r) ← → (2) at Busiris (is̄d) ⌂ ⌂ (3)
and at Byblus ⌂ (4) Osiris in some texts is called "the
one who is under his olive-tree - hry b3k.f" (5) or "the one in
the snd-tree" (6) ⌂ and "Osiris the dweller of the

- (1) Mar., Dend., IV 71 fig; cf. Jéquier, G., Mériaux pour servier à l'établissement d'un Dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne, in Bull. Inst. fr. XIX, 14-16.
- (2) Schäfer, H., Das Osirisgrab von Abydos und der Baum pk̄r in ZAS XL, 107-10.
- (3) Naville, Mythe d'Horus, Pl. XX: "It is the sacred work of the head and limbs of the god whose name (i.e. his heart or name written on the heart-like fruit of the tree) liveth in the fruits of the tree whose name is 'That-Which-Is-on-the-Tumulus (of Osiris) of-Busiris'". Lefébure, E., Les fruits de l'asht, in Sphinx V, 18-9. Brugsch, Die Aegyptologie, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 309-10.
- (4) Plut., De Iside 557.
- (5) Ptah as a cosmic god (as well as Horus and Thoth) bears this title as protector-god of the dead, and seems to be identified with a god named hry b3k.f whom Kees regards as a tree-god. The two qualities of protection and vegetation may well suit Osiris whom the epithet of hry b3k.f indirectly lifts to the level of cosmic deities. It is not therefore unlikely that the god meant by hry b3k.f is Osiris, who probably had it earlier than Ptah through his identification with a minor local god with that name. Ptah had had it only since the Middle Kingdom. Kees in Rec. trav. XXXVII, 60. Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 147-50.
- (6) Mar., Dend., IV, Pl. 75, l. 38.

n^crt-tree,"⁽¹⁾ "which exists to bear his soul."⁽²⁾

Though the sycomore-tree was Re^c's tree it was also Osiris' tomb, and it is Isis and Nephthys who buried him there. Thus in the Pyramid Texts it is said,

"Greetings to thee, Sycomore, who protects the god, under which the gods of the underworld stand,

Thy forehead is upon thine arm (in mourning) for Osiris

Thou art standing, Osiris; thy shadow is over thee, Osiris;

the generous damsel (i.e. the tree) who acted for

this spirit of Gehesti (where Osiris was Murdered)

is thy shadow, Osiris."⁽³⁾

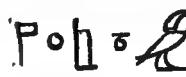
The spirits of the dead are likewise entombed under various sacred trees. In a tomb from Hu (Diospolis parva near Tahta) from late times (seen by Wilkinson⁽⁴⁾ and others), Osiris' spirit

(1) Champ., Not. descr. I, 747; cf. P. Bremner-Rhind, 19. 2 = Faulkner, JEA XXIII 13.

(2) Louvre C 286, 1. 3.

(3) Pyr. 1485-87; cf. Breasted, Development, p. 28.

(4) Wilkinson, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, 1878, Vol. III, p. 349. In the Second Decree of the Abaton the following passage occurs:

"Ritual to bring the Bai of Osiris  to its place (i.e. the Abaton).

The Bai of Osiris cometh onto its corpse in the Abaton; it is (namely) a divine falcon with a human face (hr n p^ct). It dwelleth on the menta-tree, while Isis and Nephthys are in front of it and Amen-Re^c and Thoth laud it." Junker, Götterdekret, p. 26.

like the sun-god's appears as a b(i)nw-bird - a symbol of resurrection⁽¹⁾ - standing in a tree.⁽²⁾ It is "The Spirit of Osiris - B3 n Wsir⁽³⁾ (fig. 63). The spirit is not only assimilated to Rē's bird, but also sits on the latter's isđ-tree: meanwhile the deceased is offered a libation of water and "bunches of flowers (nhw) of the isđ-tree of Rē on which resteth the spirit of Osiris."⁽⁴⁾

Even in late times, legends about Osiris' retreat in a

= The mn̄t3-tree  of the Abaton is the same as mn̄s3-tree, which, according to Plutarch, shaded Osiris' tomb, (Wb. II, 91), and which is the same as the mn̄s3 (Plut., De Iside 359 B with n. 4, p. 52, trans. Babbit in ICL).

(1) Rochem., Edfou, I, 366 ff.; cf. Rundle Clark, op. cit., II, p. 117; Junker, op. cit., pp. 1-4. The spirit of Osiris and the trt-tree in which the bird-spirit in this example stands were both solar in origin. Atum is the owner of this tree:
"I am Atum of the trt-tree of (the statue) sm"
(i.e. the statue made of the wood of this tree). Bk Dead 57
In the Metternich Stele (ll. 76-7) the deceased is also addressed thus:
"Thou shalt not die with the fire of poison for thou art the Great Phoenix, which was born on the trt-tree in the great temple of Heliopolis."

(2) Salix Safsaf Forsk. = Bull. Inst. fr. XXXI, 184 f.

(3) Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt (trans. Tirard) London, 1894, p. 272; Parthey, G., Plutarch über Isis und Osiris, Berlin, 1850, pp. 205-06.

(4) P. Boulaq 5, Pl. XIV, 6 = Maspero, op. cit., p. 47 = Junker, op. cit., p. 27.

tree were still being told and enacted, for he was then renowned as the god from whom trees sprang up. (1) Plutarch describes in some detail how the god reached Byblus, and how he was received by an ἐρεικη- tree that, as soon as it embraced his box, shot up marvellously. "The heather in a short time ran up into a very beautiful and massive stock - ἡ δ' ἐρεικη καλλιετον ὄλιγω χρόνω καὶ μέγεστον ἀνδραμοῦσα . (2) The same author tells of the god's grave on the sacred island near Philae προς φίλκις saying: "the priests lay wreaths upon the tomb, which lies in the encompassing shade of a persea-tree surpassing any olive in height" - ὑπερπίροντι πάσης ἵλαξις μεγεσος. (3)

In various national folk-tales one may read about trees receiving kings or princes in their gardens with great respect, as the two persea-trees in the Tale of the Two Brothers did, where the divine spirit in them as well as their marvellous growth excited Pharaoh's admiration. They stood at the entrance of his royal residence for him to pass between, like those sacred trees which stood beside the sun-god when he rose in heaven and in Heliopolis, and also those

(1) Sethe, ZMS XLVII, 72; Infra, p. 189.

(2) Plut., De Iside 357 A.

(3) Ibid., 359 B.

which stood before the temples dedicated to him by a Pharaoh such as Hashepsow at Deir el-Bahri.

"The m3tttree , which is at the door of heaven, hath stretched out her branches (lit. hath given her arms) to N."⁽¹⁾

"The i(3)m-tree serves thee; the nbs-tree turns its head to thee."⁽²⁾

Likewise the deceased in turn greets the trees on his arrival in the sky.⁽³⁾

"Greetings to thee, Sycomore who protects the god (Osiris)."⁽⁴⁾

"O Osiris N., thou appearest as a palm

One giveth to thee jubilation as a palm

ceremonies are performed for thee at the tomb of Osiris."⁽⁵⁾

(1) Pyr. 1440. If however m3tt = m3tt (Wb. II, 34, 23) this may be rather a herb than a tree. Dawson in JEA XIX, 133-35, with exhaustive Bibliography, identifies it with the mandrake. At least it is determined here with a tree.

(2) Pyr. 1019; cf. Pyr. 808, 1723.

(3) Cf. Pyr. 471.

(4) Pyr. 1485 a.

(5) Maspero, Mémoire, p. 35.

Just as in the Tale of the Two Brothers the two persea-trees in which Bata was enshrined were admired by Pharaoh, and considered by him and his people as sacred and worthy of sacrifices, so too Malcander, King of Byblus, greatly honoured the erika-tree which hid Osiris' relics (though not for that reason), and made of it a pillar in his palace. Isis, having extracted her brother's body from its trunk, recommends that the wood (of the tree) should be deposited in her temple in the land of Byblus that it may be venerated by the people and their descendants. (1) Hence in pagan times admiration of their size and beauty seems to have been an important element in the adoration of sacred trees, their splendour implying that they harboured a great divinity. The memory of the rite commenced in pagan times is still extant in the attitude shown in the folk-tales of different nations, but is found exclusively in the form of simple admiration for the tree. Oddly enough such admiration does not entirely conceal the pagan origin. If we analyse worship it consists of admiration and awe. Under Christian principles awe had to be dropped - that was to be reserved for God alone - but admiration remained. Thus in the story in its ancient Egyptian version there is both awe and admiration: in the folk tales from Christian lands admiration only.

(1) Plut., De Iside 557 C.

In the Tale of the Widower's Daughter, the daughter hides herself in a wooden pillar which is to form the central pillar of her house in order to escape her father who intends that she shall marry him. Unable to find her, her father destroys the new house and has its wood thrown into the sea. The wood floats away to a foreign land where a prince finds it on the shore. Admiration for the wood here takes the form of the prince's desire (1) to employ it as building-material in the manner of Malcander.

In the Tale of the Peasant's Daughter, the young bride who is waiting in a tree for the King to bring her new wedding-clothes is pushed down into the river by an envious ugly girl, who takes her place. In the water she is transformed into a fish, "Russalka". The fish is ordered by the King to be caught and kept in the royal house, but the false bride, who suspects and fears the fish-girl asks the King to kill it that they may eat it. When the fish has been eaten, and its bones thrown away in the palace court-yard, there grows from them a wonderful tree, the foliage of which the King greets whenever he comes home, and which droops whenever he is absent. (2)

(1) Frank-Kamenetzki, op. cit., p. 237.

(2) Ibid., p. 240.

In the Tale of the Three Lemons the real bride, a fairy, is deceived in exactly the same manner but she is not changed into a fish. Instead she takes the shape of a bird, after being pricked with a pin by her adversary, and thus robbed of her magic power. For the same reason Bata, in the tale of the Two Brothers, dies, when his heart falls to the ground, the tree which carried it having been felled by Pharaoh's soldiers. Ivan the Sacristan's Son, too, dies when the Pasha contrives to steal his sword while he is in bed. Both Bata's heart and Ivan's sword, like the Lemon Girl's pin, are magically their "souls" or "vital power".⁽¹⁾ When the bird stands at the royal kitchen window and the black queen learns of her presence there, she orders her cook to catch it and cook it for her. From the boiling water which the cook has used for plucking the bird and then thrown into the palace-garden, there shoots forth a lemon-tree. "The King sees this tree from the window, asks how it has come there, and the cook tells him the whole story. The King orders that it shall be taken care of and that nobody shall touch it for fear of penalty."⁽²⁾

In each case a miracle is performed by the innocent victim,

(1) Lefebvre, Bata et Ivan, in Chronique d'Egypte, (1950, 21, 25.

(2) Bolte, Johannes, und Polívka, Georg, Anmerkungen zu den Kinger- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, Band IV, Leipzig, 1930. V, 9: Die drei Zitronen (Le tre cetre) pp. 257-59; cf. Margaret Kent, Fairy Tales from Turkey, Routledge, 1946: The Lemon-Girl, pp. 36-47; Vikentiev, V., Le conte égyptien des deux frères et quelques histoires apparentées, in Bull. Fac. Art. Cairo XI (Part II) 85, 89.

the hero or heroine, while waiting in, on, or under a tree or plant to be changed back into human form. Thus in the Tale of the Silver Saucer and the Crystal Apple, the leading character, a little girl called "the Little Fool", is buried in the forest under a silver birch, after being murdered by her two jealous sisters who hope that by murdering her they may get possession of her wonderful silver saucer and crystal apple. Before long a shepherd comes and discovers the sad truth, his appearance marking the dénouement of the plot.⁽¹⁾ "He sees a little hummock beside a silver birch, and on it all around ruby-red and azure flowers and bulrushes standing above the flowers." Thus here too the leading character is sheltered, if not in a tree, at least beneath it and amidst vegetation. The usefulness of the wood is here replaced by that of the rushes, as we have noted above. "So the young shepherd breaks a bulrush, makes a pipe of it and 'a wonderful wonder' happens, (perhaps the naive wording is meant to reflect the narrator's intense emotion, for the pipe begins to play and sing and reveals the story of the murder) "Play on, play on, my little pipe", says the Little Fool from her

(1) Cf. the rôle played by shepherds in the following stories:
(a) the story of Joseph, Genesis, XXXVII,
(b) the episode of the Pans and Satyrs directing Isis to the course of the chest, Plut., De Iside 356 D, and
(c) the story of the Merchant's Daughter.

grave, "Console my father, console my guiding light, my father, and tell my mother of me, and my sisters, the little doves. For they killed me, the poor one, and for a silver saucer have severed me from light, all for my enchanted apple."⁽¹⁾

In the Tale of the Merchant's Daughter, an old man plays the same rôle of champion of the oppressed. Both stories are surprisingly alike, though the heroine was dead in the previous tale and alive in this one. With the old man's constant help she recovers her eyes which had been taken from her by her black serving-girl, who owing to their physical resemblance had been able to impersonate her and replace her as the King's bride. Thereafter the heroine finds herself in a wonderful house of crystal where she gives a feast, which the King fortunately attends, and follows with an invitation to his palace. On his return the King tells the Queen of the marvellous crystal house and its beautiful occupant. Suspecting that the girl in the crystal house must be her former mistress, whose eyes she has removed, the Queen incites her body-guard to kill her and cut her to pieces. After the murder, the old man collects her hacked-up body, puts it

(1) Magnus, Leonard A., Russian Folk-Tales (trans. from Russian), London, 1916 (2nd impression) pp. 36-41.

in a coffin and then buries it. Where she has been buried a garden grows. Such is the King's admiration when he sees the garden that he again informs his wife, who, out of malice and a desire to evade impending peril, orders her body-guard to cut it down. When the King goes out again to see the garden, he sees that it has disappeared, but finds there a beautiful male child, the girl's incarnation. The boy is taken home by the King but eventually leads him back to the place where the girl is. We are to suppose that the same miracle happens as before. The girl becomes the boy and is eventually changed back. The tree or plant is represented by the garden. (1)

In the Tale of Ivan the Sacristan's Son, Ivan dies when his sword, the source of his strength, has been stolen by the Sultan of Turkey. When he has been resurrected by the life-giving water, he transforms himself first into a horse and then into a bull (like Bata). But Cleopatra, (2) Ivan's wife, who deserted him to live with the Sultan (as Bata's wife did to live with Pharaoh), urges the Sultan to kill the bull. The bull's head is buried in the palace garden, where sprouts the next day a wondrous apple-tree, (3) which

(1) Aphanassieff, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 183-88.

(2) Notice the probable influence of the Egyptian Tale of the Two Brothers on the Russian Tale of Ivan the Sacristan's Son; cf. Lefèvre, op. cit., p. 25.

(3) P. Chester Beatty I, 10. 4-10. 5 = Gard., Contendings, p. 21.

the Sultan never wearies of admiring. When Cleopatra asks him why he is always in the garden, he retorts: "A marvellous apple-tree has grown, that is bearing golden apples!"⁽¹⁾ The wife has the tree cut down, but from a splinter there springs up a duck, who is, of course, Ivan. Ivan, when finally restored to human shape, puts the Sultan and the wicked wife to death.

The veneration of the Osiris-tree was still not forgotten in the fourth century A.D. in Europe. Julius Firmicus Maternus in his defence of Christianity, in which he attacks the worship of Osiris, adversely criticizes a ritual ceremony in which a hollow effigy made of earth and grain was laid in a hole in the middle of a tree.⁽²⁾

The Second Persian period has handed down to us a black basalt sarcophagus from Sakkarah owned by Paëse and usurped by Petosiris. On it is represented the tomb of Osiris at Abydus in the shape of a hummock having four trees growing on it. This is similar to the

(1) Lefebvre op. cit., pp. 22-4.

(2) "In Isiacis sacris de pinea arbore caeditur truncus. Huius trunci media pars subtiliter excavatur, illic de seminibus factum idolum Osiridis sepelitur." - De errore profanarum religionum, XXVII, 1, Fr. trans. Gilbert Heuten, pp. 112-13.

ȝst  , a mound of earth with vegetation on its top (fig. 64).

The inscription accompanying it runs:

"It is the mound which is hiding the corruption
it contains (lit. "which is in it"). It is the
tumulus (w^crt) of Osiris."⁽¹⁾

In the "Late Period", Osiris' tombs all over Egypt, according to the Larger Geographical List of Edfu,⁽²⁾ assumed the shape of ȝst  , and recent excavations at one of them, el-Medamūd, have thrown more light on this type of Osirian tumulus. There, under the temple built by Sesostris III for Mont, the original god of the Theban nome, a primitive temple has been uncovered. If Robichon and Varille are correct, this primitive temple belongs to about the middle of the Old Kingdom. They base their supposition

(1) Maspero, Catalogue du Musée Egyptien de Marseille, Paris, 1889, No. 67, p. 52; cf. Lanzoni, Dizion., p. 1881, Pl. 304 (Text, p. 802); Rec. trav. XXXVII, 12; De Buck, Egyptische voorstellingen, p. 60, 2; Buhl, Marie-Louise, in JNES VI, 95; Schäfer, ZAS XII, 107-10; Chass., Etude sur quelques textes funéraires de provenance Thébaine, Bull. Inst. fr. III, 145-46; Erman-Ranke, Aegypten, 1923, p. 208, fig. 139; Gressmann, Alte Or. XXIII, 35.

(2) Chass., Edfou, I, 329 ff.

on the occurrence of the phrase  in the Pyramid Texts. (1) A low wall surrounding a sacred wood encloses the temple, which consists of a court leading through two sinuous passages to two sanctuaries containing two ȝst-shaped mounds. These were surrounded and also covered with trees like the one in fig. 64 from the sarcophagus above discussed. Both authors believe that the temple had nothing to do with Mont (fig. 13), to whom no important cult-centre had been established before the time of Sesostris III. That king was the first to erect a temple to Mont on one previously built for some other deity, and they hold that this deity was Osiris, and that it had been built to hide his effigies made of barley and sand like those which were made every year in the Khoiak-festival at Busiris. A funerary custom of this kind at this festival is indeed mentioned in a text on the roof of the temple of Denderah. No inscription is extant at el-Medāmūd to prove the point, but Medāmūd was one of the centres of the Osirian cult, and the god's tomb there according to the excavators was in actual fact a very old ȝst-mound, upon which the vestiges of trees testified to its continual greenness. (2) Thus it had a real existence and was not

(1) Pyr. 225.

(2) Robichon, C. et Varille, A., Description sommaire du temple primitif de Médamoud, Le caire, 1940.

merely a representation on monuments or a mere record in texts.

In Ptolemaic Egypt, Osiris who often appears lying supine on his bier, is also represented either standing in a leafy tree, the stem of which is obviously formed by his erect corpse⁽¹⁾ (fig. 65), or rising from his bier close to a sacred tree which bears his spirit, his B3-bird (fig. 66). Alternatively the tree may not be seen standing beside his bier, but rather shooting out of his wooden chest. Of this type of resurrection there are two other extant representations. The older of them comes from Taharqo's reign. From Osiris' body entombed in a round-topped mound springs up "the šnd(t)-tree of the chest" (of Osiris) (fig. 67).⁽²⁾ In the other scene (fig. 68), Osiris does not appear as in his conventional Denderah representations (fig. 69), but here his sacred iw-plant, to judge from the representation, seems to have been carefully tended in shelter under a canopy. Water libations are poured out onto it by two priests standing on either side.⁽³⁾ It seems likely that the tree is meant to be understood as growing from the buried body of Osiris. He is offered water that makes his sarcophagus, and the god himself too, as green as the iw-plant.

(1) Junker, Götterdekret, p. 54; cf. fig. 57.

(2) Prisse, A.C. Théod. E., Monuments égyptiens I, Pl. XXX, Paris, 1847; cf. Devéria, Th., Bas relief égyptien relatif à des textes de Plutarque De Iside et Osiride (Société impériale des antiquaires de France. Bulletin. Paris 1858, pp. 133-36; Maspero, Hist. anc., II, p. 570.

(3) Champ., Mon. de l'Eg. I, Pl. 88. Here the kbh vases may indicate that the pouring out of water is a libation rather than a mere routine watering of the plant.

The greenness of the god undoubtedly symbolizes his resurrection, and becomes his peculiar attribute when his connexion with Nature is being emphasized. It is noteworthy that the water which makes both the god and the land of Egypt green is the Nile, the god's water or exudations. (1) What the two priests are doing is perhaps what Plutarch means by "sacrificial rites" performed at his tomb on the island near Philae, where a high persea-tree shades it. The island is too sacred for any except the priests to approach. (2) The title of such a priest is mentioned in the Colophon of P. Bremner-Rhind (Clp. 1. = Bibl. Aeg. III, 32) "the prophet of Osiris great-of-the-Persea-Tree (hm-ntr Wsir wr p3 isd)". This title clearly associates the solar persea-tree with Osiris. (3)

(1) Junker, op. cit., pp. 37 ff.; P. Bremner-Rhind 9, 25-10, 1 = Faulkner, JEA XXII, 127-28.

(2) Plut., De Iside 359 B; cf. Diodorus I, 22; also see "Abaton Decree No. 1" = Junker, Götterdekret, pp. 19, 22.

(3) Pleyte, W., Sur un papyrus inédit du British Museum, in Rec. trav. III, 61, cf. pp. 50, 53, § 17, 34; Dennis, J.T., The Burden of Isis, London, 1910, p. 50.

CHAPTER X

TREE AND PILLAR

The relation between Egypt and Byblus in prehistoric times may have been a close one and due to Osiris. As we have seen, Plutarch tells us that after his death, the chest containing his body was washed away by the waves of the Mediterranean to Byblus, where an erika-tree hid him in its trunk. This incident seemed entirely mythical until Sethe in 1908 (ZAS XLV, 7-14; XLVII, 71-3) suggested that it was an historical (or rather prehistorical) fact.

Already in the Old Kingdom the Egyptians were sailing to Byblus Kbn  (O.K.),  (M.K.; N.K.) Gbl,   Avblos, to get wood from the cs-trees⁽¹⁾ for building ships. This wood was especially popular in later times for the sacred boats of Amin, which carried his images at his festivals at Thebes, and for masts for ships and as flagpoles to stand in front of temple pylons.⁽²⁾ The

(1) Variously identified with "cedar", juniper, cypress and pine. Cf. Supra, p. I39.

(2) Besides, cedar-oil was imported from there for embalmment. About 2500 B.C. it failed to come, and the complaint of the High Priest ran thus:

"Men do not sail to Byblus to-day. What can we do to get cedars for our mummies? Priests are buried with their produce, and princes are embalmed with their resin, as far as the land of Keftiu, and now they come no more."

Gardiner, The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig, 1909 = Erman-Blackman, Literature, p. 96.

wood of the cv-tree, although it did not grow in Egypt, was much better for such purposes than any local wood. On a granite statue (in the Louvre Museum, Louvre No. A 93) from the time of King Amasis (XXVIth Dyn.), this preference for the cv-wood is testified by the following text:

"I made again a sacred bark from cv-wood, which I found made of sn̄t-wood." (1)

This kind of wood was sometimes used for making coffins. (2)

The Egyptians, moreover, gave to a ship built of this Byblian wood the name kbnt  . According to Sethe it was for onomatopoeic reasons that the tree was designated by the word cv, for the sound it made in the wind seems to have been melancholy, and associated with groaning, the meaning of which is included in the meanings of the Egyptian cv "to cry out." (3) Sethe's idea is that this word was used, after the Osiris incident, in the Pyramid Texts (590, 634, 827, 828, 834, 835, 838, 903, 2107) to express the depressed state of mind of a deceased person (Osiris),

(1) Boreux, Ch., Antiquités égyptiennes, Paris, 1932, Vol. I, pp. 57-8 = Loret, Etudes sur quelques arbres égyptiens: Les arbres  ,  et  in Rec. trav. II, 63.

(2) Ducros, H.A., L'arbre ASH des anciens égyptiens, in Ann. Serv. XIV, II.

(3) Schäfer, ZAS XLIV, 132.

out of which his mother (Nut) must rescue him in order to save him from death. Sethe rightly believes that this groaning (^{cv}s) is closely connected with Osiris who was concealed at Byblus by the erika-tree, and that this incident must have taken place long before the Pyramid age committed the verb (^{cv}s) to writing with the meaning "to groan". We hold, therefore, that Osiris' adventure quite probably happened in remote prehistoric times, and was still not forgotten by the Egyptians in the late period of their history, when it was recorded by such Greek writers as Plutarch. In a late text the (Osiris) deceased is thus addressed in terms which still associate the ^{cv}s-tree with him:

"O Osiris N.! To thee comes the ^{cv}s-tree, which issued from Osiris, the beautiful exudations which came forth from the mhy-flood, the great sweat which came out from the hsy-flood; it receives thee in peace with its own arms, as was done to Osiris at the first time."⁽¹⁾

We shall see later in our study of the "Mystery Play of the Succession" that Osiris (the dead King) had to be resurrected before Horus (the living king) was enthroned in order to grant the new reign every success and happiness. There Osiris is represented both by the

(1) P. Louvre 3148 and 3174 = Sethe, Osiris und die Zeder von Byblos, in ZAS XLVII, 71-3. See also _____ Zur ältesten Geschichte des Ägyptischen Seeverkehrs mit Byblus und dem Libanongebiet, in ZAS XLV, 7-14.

i(3)m-tree and by the Djed-pillar. The latter has been the subject of various studies with divergent conclusions. Some rightly think that it represents generally a plant and particularly a tree. In the "Mystery Play" which goes back to the First Dynasty and probably long before it, Osiris' i(3)m-tree in one scene and his Djed-pillar in another are lifted up before the King. This action leads to Osiris' eventual resurrection. He dwells inside both objects, and both shield him from his enemies as if they were his mother. Hathōr who was a tree-goddess is called in a late text "the female Djed-pillar who concealed Re^c from his enemies."⁽¹⁾

The Djed-pillar was thought of as a symbol of Osiris, or as Osiris himself by the mythopoeic mind of the Egyptian.⁽²⁾ That this is so is clear from the Egyptian's attitude towards it in the ceremonies in which it figures. The king in his Sed-festivals may call it "Osiris", and offer it clothes and food-offerings that it may give him in return might over all the lands. In fig. 70 King

(1) Sethe, Sonnenauge, p. 33 = Frankfort, Kingship, p. 178.

(2) In her lamentation for Osiris Isis addresses him thus:

"Come to thy house, O Osiris who is in front
of the Westerners, come to thy house
Raise thee, raise thee up, O Sovereign our Lord!
Be stable (dd), be stable (dd) in thy name of
Stable One (dd)."

P. Bremner-Rhind, II. 16, 19, trans. Faulkner, JEA XXII, 131.

Sethos I is seen not only offering to it, but giving it to Isis, just as the King of Byblus gave her the trunk of the tree that enclosed her brother. The Djed-pillar may be represented having the god's eyes, the feather-crown appropriated by him from ^cAndjety, his two sceptres (fig. 71), and even with the head of Osiris coming out of it⁽¹⁾ (fig. 72), just as the head of the bull, the sun-god Atum's sacred animal, is seen at the top of the Iwnw-pillar⁽²⁾ with which he is associated. Hence the close connection between the tree and the pillar in the cults of both Osiris and the sun-god.⁽³⁾

A parallel has been drawn by Rendel Harris⁽⁴⁾ between Osiris and Jesus, following a hint thrown out by Petrie (Anc. Egypt, 1928, 44), who quoted a saying in the "Logia Jesou":⁽⁵⁾ "Raise the stone and there thou shalt find me, cleave the wood and there am I."

(1) Budge, Osiris I, 6, 51-3, 56.

200

(2) Infra p. with fig. 74.

(3) Gressmann, Alte Or. XXIII, 34.

(4) Rendel Harris, Jesus and Osiris (Woodbrooke Essays, No. 5), Cambridge, 1927.

(5) Grenfell and Hunt, Oxyrrhynchus Papyri II.

Rendel Harris thinks that this is a reference to Osiris dwelling in the wood, and that therefore Osiris is the prototype of Jesus, in fact that Jesus is Osiris. Jennikson in The Unwritten Sayings of Jesus, pp. 109-10 says that this "logion of the wood and stone" seems to have been very popular not only because it encourages and sympathises with such labourers as builders and foresters who are exposed to the hardships and dangers of their labour,⁽¹⁾ but also because it means that Jesus will save and protect them from such hardships and dangers. This interpretation, it is true, is very Christian in that it depicts Christ as a protector of Man and a preserver of human life.

This conception of the meaning of the Saying perhaps does not find general acceptance with the Christian Church, but since it has been suggested, it is worth considering how near is the parallelism between Osiris and Jesus if it is accepted. The present writer feels that he is not competent to discuss the validity or invalidity of the argument since he himself is not a member of the Christian Church. The remarks that follow are suggested only on the supposition that

(1) Eccles. X, 9. "whoso removeth stones shall be hurt therewith; and he that cleaveth wood shall be endangered thereby."

Rendel Harris' theory is correct.

The exposition of this Christian Saying can hardly conceal its pagan background, for it originates after all, in Egypt. Religion in Egypt was in late times preponderantly Osirian, and it is due to Osiris' immense popularity there that the intermixture of both Osirian and other contemporary local pagan religions was inevitable, though always with the conspicuous supremacy of the former over the latter, emphasized by the fact that the Osirian cult was not dropped by those who travelled abroad from Egypt. If "wood" implies "tree", then it is a tree in which Jesus dwells, just as that which sheltered Osiris' body in Egypt and became part and parcel of himself, and also that which embraced his box at Byblus. The popularity of this Saying amongst the Egyptians, it may be argued, could to a large extent be due to the popularity of the indigenous god Osiris. His cult had a new philosophical shape in Alexandria, a city that became the melting-pot of oriental and occidental doctrines from the Ptolemaic period onwards. ⁽¹⁾ By attaching himself to creation on one hand and to Nature on the other, Osiris appropriates, as it were, the domain of the solar creator, keeping all the time his two main aspects as a water- and vegetation - god, to which paramount importance was attached in Ptolemaic times.

(1) See Nash, Proc. SBA XL, 28-9.

As a vegetation-god he was well known as the tree- and corn-god. It was through Plutarch's philosophical and narrative works and those of the other classical writers who dealt with the subject that the account of Osiris as a divine power of fertility gained very wide circulation outside Egypt. Osiris, wherever his worship went, kept his agricultural traits, and was conceived as immanent in Nature - her death and resurrection - and could influence to a greater or less extent the various people's beliefs about life after death. Plutarch's version of the god's myth is by no means an entire novelty of Graeco-Roman times. ⁽¹⁾ Its core is incontestably ancient Egyptian, purporting resurrection both of vegetation and of Man. Ethically resurrection is only for the good man, since there is no place for the vicious in the world of the Blest over which Osiris presides. ⁽²⁾ This highly moral implication which has in general underlain Egyptian mythology persisted because it was in fact not alien to Christian sentiments. Hence we can see that the

(1) Scott-Moncrieff, oo. cit., pp. 7, 9.

(2) "He says: 'I pray unto thee, O my lord Osiris. Rejuvenate me, who am thy follower. Divinise me among the followers of thy person, who are in the favour of thy Majesty. Revive my spirit among the just and good according to thy heart, forever!'"
Drioton, Bull. Inst. fr., XXXIII, 253; cf. 255.

notion of the reward of the good and the retribution of the evil that has been handed on to folk-tales in Christian lands (which invariably have this moral) comes not only from a Christian background but, in the case of the folk-tales mentioned here, from the Osirian background as well. Thus their Osirian content may have helped their survival.

The idea that Jesus is found in the wood and that it occurs in his Sayings, is naturally associated with search. In the same manner Osiris was searched for by Isis in Egypt and abroad until he was found. Both Egyptian and non-Egyptian sources confirm this: "Isis, the inspired one, she who avengeth her brother, who seeketh him without wearying, going over this land in her grief, she doth not stop till she hath found him." (1) Isis in her search went to Byblus where she found Osiris in an erika-tree. Though this incident is not explicit in Egyptian texts, yet the goddess' wanderings, search, and final discovery of the body have been preserved in Isis' songs in P. Bremner-Rhind. (2) Again in the

(1) Stèle du Louvre C 286, ll. 14-15 = Bull. Inst. fr. XXX, 741; cf. Budge, Osiris II, p. 78.

(2) The reputation of Isis for her search for her brother was in Christian times not only adversely criticized but even also ridiculed. Minucius Felix, the Christian apologist (Third Century A.D.) says of her:

"Isis, with her Cynocephalus and shaven priests, mourning, bewailing and searching for her lost son; her miserable votaries beating their breasts and mimicking the sorrows of the unhappy mother (cf. Pyr. 1005-06, 1974); then, when the stripling is found, Isis rejoices, her priests jump for joy, the Cynocephalus (fig. 73) glories in his discovery; and, year by year, they cease not to lose what they

"Logia Jesou" Jesus is supposed to say, "Let not the seeker cease

= find or to find what they lose." (Octavius, XXIII. I)
From this emerge two points of interest concerning the character of Isis and her attitude towards Osiris. Firstly she is remarkable for her unfailing patience in searching for him, a fact verified by purely Egyptian traditions early as well as late. Thereby she also reveals her self-sacrifice and her faithfulness to the lost one. Secondly, Anubis and not Osiris is here the god who is lost and looked for by Isis.

Now such questions as the following may arise regarding Anubis:

- (a) Did Isis look for Anubis?
- (b) If she did, was Anubis really her son? and
- (c) Was there any confusion in the apologist's mind about Osiris, Anubis, and Horus, when he mentioned "the lost son?"

To all these questions the answer is implicitly given in one single statement - Isis was looking for Osiris. But in order to see the implication we must find an explanation of the contradictory elements in Minucius text. Now curiously enough elsewhere, whenever Isis sets out to look for Osiris, Anubis turns up in her way. Plutarch (De Iside 356 D-F) tells us that she saved Anubis from death after his mother Nephthys had given birth to him by Osiris and then abandoned him. "My mother," says Anubis (in a Demotic Magical Papyrus) "Sakhmis-Isis, she came to me in the land of Syria, to the hill in the land of the Millions (hh), to the district of these cannibals and said, 'Quick! Quick! Make haste! Make haste, my child, thou King's son, eldest and first (born), Anubis! Rise and come to Egypt, for thy father Osiris is King of Egypt!" (Cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I, pp. 47-8) To express his gratitude to her, Anubis became her companion and her loyal dog. According to Diodorus (1, 87), Anubis as a dog accompanied and guided her in her search of Osiris' body, and drove the wild beasts away from it. It is not to be overlooked that it was he who replaced the head of Isis with a cow's head when Horus had cut it off. JEA XXXVI, 65; Cf. Plut., De Iside 358 D. So Anubis became in late times closely attached to both Isis and Osiris - to her as her adopted son and to him as his illegitimate son, who reported men's faults to him. (Pyr. 1523; cf. Pyr. 157; Budge, Osiris I, pp. 329-30; Juvenal VI, 535-541 - ICL, pp. 126-27). In the Demotic Magical Papyrus (Col. II, l. 19) he is

from his quest till he find; when he finds he shall wonder, he

= called "the beautiful son of Osiris," and (Col. XX, l. 2) he says of himself, "I am the eldest and first (-born) son of the King (i.e. Osiris), Anubis, and my mother is Sakhmis-Isis." (Cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 47). But in early times he had no relation with either Isis or Osiris. Now at Abydus the god of the dead was Hnty-Inntyw (i.e. "In Front of the Westerners") with whom Anubis had been identified. When the cult of Osiris came there it absorbed both deities (Selim Hassan, Hymnes religieux du moyen empire, Le caire, 1928, pp. 7-8; Scharff, A., Die Ausbreitung des Osiriskultes in der Frühzeit und während des alten Reiches, in Sitzungsb. Berlin (München, etc.), IV, p. 21), and Anubis was relegated to the rôle of an embalmer-god (fig. 42) (Pyr. 650, 759; 574; Bk Dead 145; cf. Mercer, op. cit., 110-11, with n. 73, 186-7. Hopfner, op. cit., I, pp. 69-70; as to Anubis the embalmer and the son of Osiris see Brugsch, D.G., p. 1356). Hence in the cult at Abydus, Anubis may be considered as another form of Osiris, and an answer to our first question may be found.

On the other hand, if by "the lost son" Horus is meant in the passage from Minucius, we find ourselves facing a problem hard to solve: "Why was Horus lost to be found?" The only plausible answer is that Horus here is Osiris, for from at least the New Kingdom the son was identified with the father, and in the Christian era the name of Horus was assigned to Osiris. "Und doch ist das Ganze, wie es scheint, völlig verändert: aus dem Osiris - ist ein Horusdrama geworden; und selbst wenn man in dieser Spätzeit Horus nur für einen anderen Namen des Osiris halten und beide gleichsetzen wollte, so bliebe doch bestehen, dass man damals nicht mehr den Tod, sondern die Geburt des Gottes aufgeführt hat." (Gressmann, Alte Or. XXIII, 5-7). In the quotation above-mentioned we should substitute the word "Auferstehung" (=resurrection) for "Geburt" (=birth) to keep the fundamental discrimination between Osiris and Rēc). Hence Isis sought Osiris-Horus "her lost son" and at last found him; but once she had found him, she lost him again. We now have the answer to our second question, and also we can see the sources of Minucius' confusion referred to in the third question.

shall reign, he shall rest." This applies to Osiris, the beneficent god, although in fact such teachings were not attributed to him in these words.

If Rendel Harris' endeavour to connect Jesus and Osiris as dwellers in the tree is a credible one, we should say something about what he thinks of the first part of the Saying, i.e. "the stone". "The stone," is seems more likely, does not refer to Osiris' sarcophagus; but to his burial in a more general sense. It may, for example, mean the stones with which a tomb is built and which give it almost the same rising shape as that of the Primeval Hill of the creator-god, *Rēc-Atum*. The primal rising land of creation, as we have discerned, took several shapes, the most important of which is the pyramidion with its later form, the obelisk, the symbol of the sun-god, (1) upon which, in his temple on earth or in the sky, Atum or Atum's soul appeared as a phoenix. This bird, as we have noted frequently, also appears on the top of a tree. Hence the relation between pillar and tree. Both were worshipped in Egypt as the habitation of

(1) *Pyr.* 1178; cf. Speleers, Comment,p. 103.

divinities and sacred spirits. Such worship was not confined to Egypt alone; it was also common in Palestine, Syria, the Caucasus, Crete and Rome. Petrie in his article on Osiris in the Tree and Pillar,⁽¹⁾ referred to above, thinks that this worship was introduced into Egypt in prehistoric times by a race coming with Osiris from the Caucasus. This, he thinks, is the Badarian race that knew agriculture and delivered the aboriginal peoples, through whom they migrated towards India and Egypt, from Barbarism and cannibalism. His opinion is purely anthropological and geographical. The first two folk-tales in the Appendix which belong to the Caucasus, and which are strikingly analogous to Plutarch's narrative make Petrie think of the close affinities between Egypt and the Caucasus as regards the tree and pillar cult and he therefore maintains that Osiris might have come from Georgia (Ibid., p. 41). The whole matter, however, is conjectural and still controversial. The tree and pillar cult, as we have seen, was already in Egypt when it belonged to the sun-god whose seat was Heliopolis (Iwnw, On), "The City of the Pillar" and it was only later shared

(1) Anc. Egypt II (1928) 41. There are several more such representations, especially in the Porta Maggiore Basilica Rome, than those figured by Petrie.

by Osiris. The pillar was worshipped in pre-dynastic Egypt in various places as the dwelling or symbol of a celestial bull. Heliopolis was one of these and its pillar iwnw belonged to Atum before it was appropriated by Re^c, as Re^c came later and identified himself with him.⁽¹⁾ There it was consecrated to, and identified with, the Bull Mnevis, whose head was in late times represented as emerging from its top. Hence the worship of the pillar meant the worship of that bull-god, a deity who dwelt in it long before the Dynastic times (fig. 74).⁽²⁾ If Mercer is to be trusted when he says that the solar worshippers came from the Mediterranean islands and that Osiris came from Western Asia and probably from Syria, then the original home of the pillar-worship should be the Mediterranean islands from which it was later diffused to West and North-West Asia and Egypt. Plutarch's story is a very late one, and may have been influenced by the prevalence of pillar-cults. At Byblus, the tree which contained Osiris' body was worshipped even when Isis had taken her husband's box out of it. She "wrapped it up in a linen cloth, poured perfume upon it, and entrusted it to the care of the kings; and even to this day the people of Byblus venerate this wood which

(1) Pyr. 145, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160.

(2) Möller, ZAS XXXIX, 72; fig. I; Naville, The Festival Hall of Osorkon, II, Pl. 9, fig. 9; Wainwright, Sky-religion, pp. 106-07.

is preserved in the shrine of Isis." ⁽¹⁾ The tree had been used before Isis' arrival at Byblus as a pillar for supporting the ceiling of the King's room. ⁽²⁾ Tree and pillar worship had long been practised in Canaan and was in the end mercilessly combated by the Jews - "Overthrow their altars, break their pillars and burn their trees with fire" (Deut. 7, 5; cf. Deut. 16, 21; Judges 6, 25; 2 Kings 21, 7; Isa. 27, 9). There the pillar and tree are mentioned side by side. They are represented together in other Mediterranean countries, as for example on certain Cretan gems, in wall paintings in Rome under the early Caesars, (Porta Maggiore underground basilica), and on stucco scenes. ⁽³⁾ So they preceded and may have influenced, together with the Osirian myth, the Caucasian folk-tales. In folk-lore this worship is dispensed with, and what remains of it in Christian times is a sort of tree-pillar veneration directed towards a certain personality like Osiris, Jesus and the protective spirit dwelling in the trees wherein the ladies in the folk-tales took refuge.

(1) Plut., De Iside 357 C-D.

(2) Ibid., 357 A.

(3) All quoted and figured in Petrie, op. cit., see note I, p. I99.

CHAPTER XI

TREES AND IMMORTALITY

That a tree is the proper retreat after death of a divinity, Pharaoh or an individual - and gods in ancient Egypt die just as men - finds a happy expression in the Egyptians' beliefs and in other peoples' folklore. As spirits they like to sit in the shade of sacred trees, and to become a bird to fly in the sky, and then alight on the sacred tree of Hathōr:

"I fly like the mighty one and I alight
upon the beautiful sycomore which stands on
the lake of Akeb He who alighteth there
in the form of the great god shall not be
driven away therefrom." (1)

Another aspect of trees in Egyptian funerary beliefs which we have not so far considered is their frequent appearance as protectors of the deceased and dispensers of food, water and shade, not in the form of the male Osiris, but as females, containers or embodiments of goddesses. (2) The commonest of these are

(1) Bk Dead 189, ll. 10-11.

(2) Such sacred trees were therefore held in great honour. Any harm done to them would be considered as being dealt at the divinity himself, a behaviour regarded as despicable if not blasphemous. As Osiris was the popular deity in the tree, especially in later and classical times, people refrained from doing the slightest offence to the sacred tree, a belief that was prevalent in Plutarch's day and even afterwards. Plut., De Iside 365 B; cf. Porphyrius, De Abst. I 21; Wiedemann, A., Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, London, 1897, p. 157.

Nut,⁽¹⁾ Isis and Hathōr,⁽²⁾ but also Maat, the goddess of Truth and Justice,⁽³⁾ and Amentet, the goddess of the West,⁽⁴⁾ occur in such representations. In association with trees these all appear as protective mothers of the deceased, presumably on the analogy of Nut,⁽⁵⁾ (figs.75,76)⁽⁶⁾ who, because she is Osiris' mother, becomes the mother of every dead person, and therefore is commonly represented protecting the deceased inside the lids of sarcophagi and on the ceilings of burial-chambers,⁽⁷⁾ where for obvious reasons, she appears in her form of sky-goddess.

(1) Bk Dead 59 (vign.)

(2) Ibid., 68 (vign.)

(3) Virey, Ph., La religion de l'ancienne Égypte, pp. 241-42 with fig. 15.

(4) Jequier, G., Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes, pp. 219-20 with fig. 91; Virey, op. cit., p. 240 with fig. 14.

(5) Bk Dead 59; cf. Sethe, Urgeschichte § 18, p. 14; and also the bronze situla in Hilton-Price, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Pl. 13.

(6) Legrain, G., Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes, Paris, 1894, fig. 35, p. 100; cf. vignette 6, fig. 36, p. 101; also see Bucher, P., Les textes des tombes de Thuthmosis III et d'Aménophis II, in Mem. Inst. fr. LX, I, Pl. 24.

(7) E.g. Cenotaph of Sethos I.; cf. Sinuhe B 190-6; Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhēt, p. 56; also Pyr. 616.

Osiris and Isis are both tree divinities: they appear actually in the form of trees. The others are represented in the trees, but not of them, though as we shall see, they are all identified with the trees in which they appear.

The fact that each of these goddesses is the deceased's mother is clearly brought out in the tree-cult representations, where sometimes the goddesses are actually represented suckling the deceased (figs. 77, 78). In other cases they may stand in the tree, being either wholly or partly visible, holding out their hands with food, water, even air, for the Bai of the deceased, a bird with a human head, which receives the gifts with human hands. At the same time, the Osiris deceased may appear in his whole human form sitting under the tree or in its foliage or standing before the tree-goddess. (1)

"For recitation by the great, glorious Nut, in
this her name of sycomore: 'Take unto thee this
libation, that thy heart may become cool with it,
with this water that cometh forth from thy

(1) Cf. Sennufer (Tomb 96 B). In one scene he sits in the tree, in another he stands in front of Isis who, with half of her body only visible, offers him food and libation.

Virey, La tombe des vignes à Thèbes, in Rec. trav. XXII, 96 fig. 29; _____, La religion de l'ancienne Egypte, fig. 9; Campbell, C., The "Gardener's Tomb", (Sen-nofer's) at Thebes, Glasgow, 1908, p. 29.

on the western desert of Thebes. Receive the offerings and provisions, even that which hath come forth from my body. May thy spirit (Bai) sit in my shade that it may drink water and be cool." (1)

The spirit of the deceased, like that of Osiris is represented as a b(i)nw-bird at the tomb door (figs. 79, 80), perching on the sacred tree (as in fig. 63), as well as in the more usual form of a bird, often human-headed, sitting in the branches of the tree or on the edge of a pool (fig. 81).

The form of a bird is the natural one for the soul to assume when seeking protection in the tree, (2) and the human form, or the bird-form with human head, is the natural one in which to accept the life-giving water poured out from it. Water here is the deceased's or Osiris' exudations usually equated with Horus' Eye, (3) that must be united with him in order that he may come into being anew. On the offering-table from the Saite period mentioned above, (4) Nut, the sycomore-goddess, offers the deceased

(1) Champ., Not. descr., I, 848.

(2) Bk Dead 83.

(3) Pyr. 10 a, 43, 47, 72, 106, 451.

(4) Supra, pp. 76 ff.

Thus the Eye of Horus contains the spirit of the deceased, and in order to regain the latter he has to acquire the former. The relation between this Eye and the deceased's spirit is best illustrated by fig. 82 from the coffin of one of Amin's priests (No. 1161, Cairo Museum). On the mummy's

food and libation. The latter is Osiris' efflux or Horus' Eye. The goddess says:

"Take unto thyself this libation. Thou hast thy spirit; thou hast thy libation. Receive the exudations which have come from Osiris

Receive the Eye of Horus, transformed(?) you being provided (read htm-ti) with what cometh from thee. Be satisfied with thine offerings; be satisfied with thine abundance, the Osiris

T. is satisfied with her ⁽¹⁾ (lit. his) abundance." ⁽²⁾

Osiris, on the other hand, does not appear in tombs in this role of protective tree-deity, but when in temple-reliefs he does appear in the tree in person, he is identified with it, and whether he appears or not, the water which nourishes the tree is derived from Osiris. This is the water, the exudation of Osiris, which the goddesses in the tree offer to the deceased. Save

= cartonage a legend reads as follows:

"That she may take the spirit (Bai) of Life."

Virey, op. cit., p. 240.

(1) The scribe here substitutes a masculine singular suffix because the text refers to Osiris. Cases where females who after death have become Osiris, are referred to as masculine are not uncommon.

(2) Moret, Ann. Mus. Guimet, XXXII, 135-57, Pl. 63.

for Osiris, however, the other male deities like Atum and, as we shall see, Horus the Behdetite, are considered merely as dwellers in sacred trees and do not identify themselves with them, whereas the goddesses who play this part are identified with the trees. That the goddesses are so identified is evident from the deceased's address to one of them asking her for the tree's refreshing breeze and greenness. Greenness to the Egyptian is always synonymous with "freshness", "youth" and "new life".⁽¹⁾ Atum says:

"O! This sycomore of Nut! Give unto me
the water and the air which are in thee!
My greenness is thy greenness, my life thy
life! I am Atum."

And if the sacred tree is green, the god's dwelling will be green, and the whole land of Egypt will be green also.

"....The noble nbs-tree is green, its boughs put
forth their green leaves, the land is green in
all its extent, the residence of this god is

(1) There are also certain words associated with plants signifying these things. Such are rmp  "to be young" determined by a plant  or a child  (Wb. II, 435).  also means "to be green, fresh, youthful" and may be applied to both men and plants (Wb. I, 263-70). Isis is called the "New (Year)" i.e. Sothis (Wb. II, 649; cf. Pyr. 965).

green every day." (1)

Yet it is not the goddess who invests the tree with greenness and growth: it is the exudations of Osiris in the tree which provide the vital power in the form both of the sap and of the water which the goddess dispenses. The rising of the sap, the moisture in the tree, the Egyptian feels, is connected with the coming of the inundation which will wholly change the face of the parched soil and deliver men from starvation.

"Father of the gods, the Nile, who inundateth
this land with life and water,
he who maketh flowers sparkle with the sweat
of his Majesty,
they live with his light,
lord of dew who maketh verdure grow,
Osiris the great god." (2)

Hence it is reasonable for the Egyptians from early times to have regarded Osiris, immanent in the annual inundation, as the nourisher of vegetation and of people, the creator of greenness,

(1) Naville, The Shrine of Saït el-Henneh and the Land of Goshen, (1885), London, 1887, p. 12, Pl. 5.

(2) Junker, Götterdekret, p. 58.

freshness and new life for Man and Nature. Osiris in the Pyramid Texts is called "he whose c3b-tree becomes green, who is over his field"⁽¹⁾ and "lord of the green fields".⁽²⁾ That the god is lord of trees, fields and inundation is then an unquestionably old tradition.

"Thou hast abundance in the green herb,
....The i3m-tree serves thee, the nbs-tree turns
its head to thee,"⁽³⁾ and
"the plants grow at his wish."⁽⁴⁾

Isis as well as Osiris is identified with the tree, but only she and the other goddesses (not Osiris) appear in it to supply the deceased and his family with food and drink. Osiris never does this, probably because he is thought of not so much as a dispenser of good things in the manner of the goddesses, who thus emphasize their motherhood but as being beneficial in a somewhat different manner. After burial in the ground, his power became immanent as much in plants growing throughout the land of Egypt as in those growing on his grave. Thus Osiris embodies the principle that water is necessary for the growth and regrowth of vegetation,

(1) Pyr. 699.

(2) Pyr. 700.

(3) Pyr. 1018; cf. Breasted, Development, p. 22.

(4) Stèle du Louvre, C 286, l. 5.

and, referring once more to fig. 65, we see that not only is his body the stem of the plant and that from his body spread the branches and leaves, but also that at the same time he is standing on water which he draws up, and which, as a dead person, he receives also in the form of libations from outside, given to him in this case by Isis and Nephthys.

Osiris' wife, Isis, is a tree-divinity in the same way as he is. In Sennūfer's tomb (Tomb 96 B) the deceased and his wife are sitting together⁽¹⁾ before a green tree, represented upon a standard to shew that it is endowed with divinity. The stem of the tree is formed by Isis' body. It may seem curious that (as with Osiris on the Hadrian Wall at Philae - fig. 65) the tree is here supplied with food instead of giving it. This seems to suggest that the deceased must nourish his tree like any other tree. But the tree is clearly represented as Isis, and Isis cannot escape from being identified with the tree itself and from being a tree-goddess, not merely a dweller in it.

With Isis, the tree-goddess, who receives offerings from human beings, we can compare not only Bata (incarnated in the two persea-

(1) Their difference in size is due only to an artistic convention: the husband is the more important of the two.

trees) and Osiris, (both of whom become like females by losing their virile members), but also the female characters in our selected folk-tales. Once these have been transformed into trees, they are looked after by kings and princes whose veneration for them verges on adoration.

Resurrection leads to immortality, and the tree is the symbol of both. Thus it comes about that trees play an important part in ceremonies which endow the king with life that he may continue to reign. In the accompanying fig. 83⁽¹⁾ we see Ptolemy IV seated in the isid-tree to receive the gift of sed-festivals, renewals of his divinity and of his kingship, presented to him on palm-branches, the symbols of years (𓀃𓀃𓀃𓀃𓀃), that he may long continue to reign. At the same time, his name is being inscribed on the tree by Khons-Thoth. The tree is described as "the noble isid-tree at Behdet, which hides (Wb. IV, 553, 6 ?) the corpses of the great gods." Whatever the explanation of the concluding words,⁽²⁾ this description clearly is meant to point

(1) Leps., Denkm. IV, 17, Temple of Edfu.

(2) Perhaps "the great gods" means the Osirises, i.e. all the deceased, though other explanations are possible.

out the venerability of the tree, its power to give the water of life, the water of Osiris.

83,84,86,

Or again, a king may be seen in (figs. 87) or near a tree (fig.85) standing before a god in order that the god or his scribe may grant him immortality by writing his name on its leaves or its fruits. (1) This notion was illustrated for the first time on temple walls in the Eighteenth Dynasty. King Tuthmosis III for example is represented at Madinet-Habû being escorted by Atum and Hathor towards the isid-tree of Amen-Re^c, who writes the King's name on the leaves of the tree which is in his temple. The legend runs:

"For recitation by Amen-Re^c: 'My son, lord of the Two Lands Menkheperre^c, I establish thy name on the noble isid-tree in the Great House of Re^c.' (fig.85)

By writing Pharaoh's name on the tree-leaves or fruits, the sun-god endows him with a new immeasurable life-time. The means to this end of immortality is naturally the tree that

(1) It seems that in figs. 86,87 the objects upon which the kings' names are being written are not leaves enlarged by the artist in order to give space for the inclusion of the signs but that they are the fruit of the tree. Compare the photographs of the fruit and the leaves of the *persea* published by Keimer, Ann. Serv. Cahier 5 (Cairo, 1947), especially fig. 35.

Egyptian texts have styled "the Tree of Life". In fig. 84 ,⁽¹⁾ a scene from the Ramesseum at Luxor Ramesseum, "astronomical room"⁽²⁾ West wall, N. part represents Ramesses II sitting in the ȝsd-tree between Atum and the two divine female and male scribes, Sefkhet-^c Abu (who is Seshat as before) and Thoth. While the three divinities write Pharaoh's name in the heart-like fruits of the tree, Atum says:

"I write thy name on the noble ȝsd-tree⁽³⁾ with the writing of my own fingers;"

and Sefkhet-^c Abu says:

"I multiply for thee thy years upon earth altogether in number a million. I make (thy name) flourish for the duration of heaven, remaining in thy noble house."⁽⁴⁾

The legend above Thoth, though absolutely broken, in all likelihood refers to the same notion.

With the sweeping influence of the Osirian legend on beliefs and customs, the solar ȝ(3)m-tree becomes a symbol of Osiris'

(1) Champ., Monuments, Vol. IV, Pl. 334.

(2) Porter and Moss, II, 155.

(3) So and not ȝ(3)m as the copy of Champollion here reproduced would suggest. See Keimer, op. cit.

(4) See the correct text in Leps., Denkm. III, 169.

resurrection and his triumph over his enemy. In the Ptolemaic period, he is represented lying on his bier, under which four ȝ(ȝ)ȝ-trees have grown up.⁽¹⁾ This symbolism is, however, traceable to much earlier times, and this tree becomes assimilated to the god. In what we now call "the Mystery Play of the Succession",⁽²⁾ which was acted in the Middle Kingdom at least in the time of Sesostris I, the struggle between Osiris and Seth is enacted. When Osiris is resurrected after his death by his son Horus, his resurrection is explained in a symbolical manner. Among the preparations made for the new king's coronation two ships are equipped for his sons. A ȝ(ȝ)ȝ-tree appears in each, the whole scene being symbolical (fig. 88), the ship is Seth, the ȝ(ȝ)ȝ-tree, Osiris, and Osiris, by being placed on the ship is thus literally carried by his beaten enemy, Seth, "who carries one (i.e. Osiris) greater than he."⁽³⁾ The Egyptian text sets the episode out as follows. The words I have underlined are stage directions and dramatis personae.

"....It is Osiris that is placed upon the back
of Seth, the defeated aggressor(?)

(1) Mar., Dend. IV, Pl. 71.

(2) Infra, pp. 319 ff.

(3) Sethe, Dram. Texte II, ll. 21-4.

"The gods speak words to Seth: 'Thou shalt not go away(?) (w3) from under him who is greater than thou.'"

Osiris tramples Seth. The giving of the $\mathfrak{i}3m$ -tree to the two ships.

"Horus speaks words to Osiris: 'How sweet ($\mathfrak{i}(3)m$) is this Great One as regards his face.'"

Osiris - the $\mathfrak{i}(3)m$ -tree - The children of Horus.

"Horus speaks words to Seth: "Thou shalt not make plans (w3w3) under him." Another Seth -
(1)
the ship."

The carrying of Osiris, whether by beasts, ships, gods, men, or Seth himself means his resuscitation, and the god may be carried in his mummified form or in his symbol of the $\mathfrak{i}(3)m$ -tree. Three scenes illustrate the above text, and another is found in the same Mystery play with the same connotation. In one the $\mathfrak{i}(3)m$ -trees (Osiris) are seen to be carried by two ships representing Seth - notice the head of the oryx, the Typhonian animal, at the end of each ship - (fig.88); in another, three $\mathfrak{i}(3)m$ -trees are carried by a man before the royal ship (fig.89), and in the third the $\mathfrak{i}(3)m$ -tree is seen at the top of the

(1) Ibid., ll. 21-4, pp. 124 f.; Cf. ll. 38-9, pp. 142 ff.

Dd-pillar, (1) curiously standing for Seth, which is carried by
(2)
two men (fig. 90).

In fig. 88, it is to be noted, the head of a wild goat forms one of the ends of the ship. The goat here is a Sethian animal, which some writers suppose to be an oryx or an ibex. Keimer (op. cit., pp. 1-15) in his commentary on Horapollo, Bk II, Hierog. 21 interprets the ibex in hieroglyphic texts as a sign meaning "year", basing his interpretation on the study of some cryptographic scarabs (pp. 4-6) in each of which the ideograph of the animal's head stands for a "new year", and thus the whole inscription forms a wish for the New Year. A bark (now in Cairo Museum) which was presented to King Tut^Cankhamun on the New Year, he says, has on prow and stern the head of an ibex (fig. 91) (pp. 11-12). The horn of the latter may also adorn the stern of the celestial bark of Re^C (op. cit., figs. 10, 12). It is quite probable that the bark which carries Osiris' symbol, the i(3)m-tree, as well as the coronation-ship carrying Horus, also conveys the same idea of wishing the person carried a happy new life, as the coronation ceremony was ^{times} held on the eve of the

(1) Ibid., ll. 48-9; cf. ll. 51-2, pp. 156-60.

(2) Ibid., figs. 10, 6, 9, Pls. 15, 14, pp. 124-25.

New Year, when Osiris was interred and Horus succeeded him on his throne. The same interpretation of the ibex head seems, in our view, applicable to the scene where two heads of the same animal are offered to the symbol of Osiris, the i(3)m-tree on the Dd-pillar, on the same occasion (fig. 92).⁽¹⁾

This representation of the ibex head or its horn on the ship carrying Osiris or Horus refers to the triumph, in one case of Osiris and in the other of Horus, over their common enemy Seth. The triumph of Horus is conventionally explained in scenes showing him standing as a hawk-headed deity,⁽²⁾ or merely as a hawk standing on the back of the Sethian goat (fig. 93).

In the last four representations (figs. 84, 86) Thoth writes Pharaoh's name on the fruit of the *perseae*-tree. The fruit looks like the heart, and what the god signifies by writing it on the heart-like fruit is the endowment of Pharaoh with everlasting life (3) closely connected with the ever-renewing life of the tree. For the same reason such a fruit, or imitations of it, were put in tombs (e.g. that of Tut^cankhamun).⁽⁴⁾ The heart, the centre of life, was

(1) Sethe, Dram. Texte II, Pl. 15, fig. 8.

(2) Lanzone, Diz., II, Pl. 243.

(3) Cf. Wiedemann, Das alte Aegypten, p. 276.

(4) Carter-Mace, The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen, I, Pls. 21, 27.

so vitally important to the Egyptian that he preserved it inside his mummified body, while keeping the rest of his internal organs outside it in Canopic jars. Moreover, on the result of weighing the heart, reported by Thoth to Osiris, depended the final verdict on the deceased - a new life or death. Hence the relation between heart, new life and Thoth. This relation was interpreted by the Egyptian in a tangible way. He mummified the ibis, the sacred bird of Thoth (fig. 94), bent its head on its chest and its legs on its body to give it the shape of a heart.⁽¹⁾ The fruit of the perseae has the same shape.⁽²⁾

To return now to the writing of the deceased's name on the leaves or fruits of the tree, we should bear in mind that to the Egyptian the name is identical with the person who bears it.⁽³⁾ The fruit of a sacred tree resembles the deceased's heart in shape, and heart and name moreover may stand for a person's soul.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Cf. Horapollo, Bk I, Hierog. 36.

(2) Keimer, op. cit., pp. 33-46; Plut., De Iside 378 C.

(3) "Thy name which is upon the earth shall live;
thy name which is upon the earth endures;
thou wilt not perish;
thou wilt not pass away for ever and ever."
Pyr. 764; cf. Pyr. 256, 899, 1660-71, 1812; CT 23-4, 6, 7 =
Speleers, Textes des cercueils, XXXIX-XL 48, 50-51, 306-7;
Bk Dead 70; Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhet, pp. 101, 105,
120; Sander-Hansen, op. cit., p. 143; Davies, The Tomb of Ken-
Amun at Thebes, Pl. 45; p. 45; Budge, Bk Dead I Introd. LXII;
P. Keräsher = B.M. 9995, Sheet 2, l. 11 = Bk Dead III 658;
Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 129; Lefébure, La vertu et la vie du nom;
in Melusine, VIII, No. 10; cf. the story of Isis who could discover
the name of Re and steal it; Lefébure, ZAS (1883) 30. =

CHAPTER XII

THE HEART AND SALVATION

At this point, a further study of the heart in relation to soul and tree, in the light of solar and Osirian faiths, is desirable. Our modern psychological distinction between mind as the seat of the intellect and knowledge,⁽¹⁾ and heart as the receptacles of emotions, sentiments, and moods,⁽²⁾ was not familiar to the ancient Egyptian. To him the mind was contained in the heart, but even so the Egyptian could hardly fail to recognise that the heart is necessary for life. Not only did he express this in his funerary ceremonials, but he also equipped himself in the Underworld of Osiris with magical formulae in order to defend his heart from evil spirits. To preserve it intact was

(4) = Ka  may also mean rn, "name", which may be written thus: . Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, I, 4. 1-2, with n. 62, p. 81.

(1) Imy-ib  means either "intimate friend" or "understanding", and imyt-ib   "thought" or "desire". Wb. I, 72, 18-20; cf. also Wb. I, 59, 13. Grapow, Vergleiche und andere bildiche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen, in Alte Or. XXI, 20.

(2) Piankoff, A., Le "coar" dans les textes égyptiens depuis l'ancien jusqu'à la fin du nouvel empire, Paris, 1930, pp. 33-4; cf. Speleers, Textes des cercueils, p. XII.

all his concern; for without it, how would he be able to enjoy life in the hereafter? ⁽¹⁾ His heart was the dwelling of his soul, and both heart and soul were to him identical, and the possession of a righteous heart was at the same time his protection against eternal damnation. Heart meant soul in the soul's two distinct manifestations of Ka  "vital force" and Bai  "spirit". ⁽²⁾ KA:

"Thou hast thy heart, thou hast thy Ka, N." ⁽³⁾

"Thou (i.e. the heart) art my Ka which is in my body," ⁽⁴⁾ says the deceased.

BAI "May his spirit come to his body and his heart.

May his spirit come to rest in his body and in his heart." ⁽⁵⁾

"So long as thy spirit exists, thy heart shall exist with thee." ⁽⁶⁾

(1) Bk Dead 27, 28, 29, 163.

(2) For the definition and differentiation between Ka and Bai see Frankfort, Kingship, p. 64.

(3) Pyr. 1869; cf. Bk Dead 169, 21.

(4) Bk Dead 30.

(5) Piel, Inscriptions hieroglyphiques, III, Pl. 12.

(6) Lacau, TR 86.

The Ka and Bai are thus identified with the heart, and both of them represent the soul of the Osiris deceased. The soul of the sun-god as well as that of Osiris may appear as a b(i)nw-bird (cf. figs. 6, 63). From figs. 95, 96 one can also see that the b(i)nw-bird may be assimilated to the deceased's Bai through the identification of the latter with the heart. Hence Ka, Bai, heart and phoenix, are identified with one another, all as the soul of the deceased. Their relation to one another is illustrated in a vignette of the Book of the Dead by a heart-scarab, on one side of which one reads:

"Thou (i.e. heart) art my Ka, which is in my body,"
and on the other a b(i)nw-bird is represented (figs. 95, 96).⁽¹⁾

According to the Egyptian creation story of Memphis, Ptah in his heart thought of the gods in order to create them and the rest of the Universe,⁽²⁾ and uttered with his tongue what he had thought in his heart (56), a process which, as Sethe pointed out, impressed the Memphite Theology with an intellectual stamp unknown to Heliopolis (53-55). Nevertheless it should not be overlooked that on occasions, the sun-creator himself is mentioned as playing

(1) Sharpe, S., Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and Other Sources, London, 1857, p. 101, M; cf. Horapollo, Bk I, Hierog. 7.

(2) Sethe, Dram. Texte, I (Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie) 1928.

this rôle, e.g. "He created me in his heart"⁽¹⁾ and "created the earth according to thy heart."⁽²⁾ These are presumably a later attribution to the sun-god of the achievement attributed to Ptah, for the earlier quotation, appearing in the coffin texts, finds no parallel in the earlier Pyramid Texts, and in the later one the rôle of creator by thought is attributed to the El-Amānah version of the creator, the god Aten. As a god's heart was capable of creating the Universe, so the heart of the deceased could create him:

"My heart, it made my flesh My heart, it lifted me up⁽³⁾ (i.e. like Atum on the day of creation)."

It was also the heart that urged its Bai to visit the deceased down in his tomb in order to be near his body "that he might enter in peace and come out in peace."⁽⁴⁾

"The heart of thy Bai remembereth thee, it developeth the egg which created thee."⁽⁵⁾

(1) CT 336.

(2) Bouriant, N., Deux jours de fouilles à Tell el Amarna, in Mem. Miss. fr. I (1881-1884) 4.

(3) CT 39, l. 171.

(4) Bk Dead 26; cf. 89; 92 (vign's) Leps., Todt. 104 (vign.); Frankfort, Kingship, fig. 22 = Tbtēnb. (Nav.) I, 1 (vign. P. e.).

(5) Lacau, TR 85 in Rec. trav. XXII, 78 = Speleers, Textes des cercueils, p. XLI.

As to the beings created, they have to keep their bodies as sound as possible by embalming in order to live again in the other world. (1) Moreover by observing certain rites consisting mainly in lustral washing the dead could gain mastery over destruction, since by means of the divine water their limbs were gathered together, reconstructed into their former bodies, (2) and their hearts were refreshed and restored to their proper places. It was Isis and Nephthys, together with Horus and Thoth, who were the first to do all this. (3) It was their magic which called for the purification of the god's heart and body with the water of the sources (his exudations, moisture or Horus' Eye) (4) "that his heart might not be weary when possessing it" and that it might be refreshed. (5) Of his parts the heart was the most important:

"Hail to thee Amen-Rē^C, Lord of Karnak. I bring
unto thee thy heart in thy body to put it in
its place; just as Isis brought her heart to

(1) Frankfort, Anc. Egypt. Rel., p. 92.

(2) Pyr. 858; cf. Pyr. 1907-08.

(3) Pyr. 616-17, 828, 835, 1683, 1892, 1786, 1981, 2097, 1979-81; cf. Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 111-12; P. Bremner-Rhind, 6, 4 = JEA XXII, 125.

(4) Pyr. 766.

(5) Pyr. 22-23; 1180-81; Bk Dead 173; cf. Breasted, Development, p. 173; Supra, p. 73.

her son Horus to put it in its place." (1)

And Ha^cpy says to the deceased (on a sarcophagus from Kaw el-Kebir = Antaopolis):

"For recitation by Ha^cpy: 'I bring unto thee thy heart in thy body that it may never stray from thee'" (2)

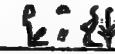
In a different manner the dead could live again by drinking the god's water. This had the power of replacing the heart in the body, and also the power of reviving the heart.

"Osiris and Isis give bread for my body and water for my heart." (3)

It is interesting to consider that this belief or funerary custom of giving water for the heart and bread for the body as spiritual food and drink was prevalent till about the fifth century of our era, and was inextricably interwoven into Christian eschatological beliefs. Christianity tried in vain officially to abolish the depositing of bread and water with the dead, on the ground that

(1) Moret, Rituel du culte divin, p. 63.

(2) Daressy, G., Un sarcophage de Gaou, in Ann. Serv. IV, 121; Maspero, Catalogue, 51; cf. Pyr. 2111-14; Pyr. 1640, 1786, 2097; Bk Dead 26, 44.

(3) Cairo Stele of , Berlin Dictionary, Wb., Nr. 145 = Piankoff, op. cit., pp. 16, 74.

holy objects should not be put in coffins. (1) The only minor

(1) Cf. Pyr. 72-4. For another instance from al-Khargah Oasis see Meyers, C.S., in Man, 91 (1901) 113.

It is not in accordance with orthodox Christian teaching that consecrated (i.e. blessed and sanctified) bread and wine, which are sacramentally the body and blood of Christ, should be put with the body of a dead person. Bread and wine are consecrated in church when there is a communion so that the people may by eating and drinking participate sacramentally, i.e. spiritually, in the body and blood of Christ. This is the primary purpose of the consecration of the bread and wine, but superstitious people came to regard them after consecration as possessed of magical properties and misused them in various ways, one of which may have been the putting of them into a coffin as a viaticum for the deceased. These superstitious practices began early and continued until comparatively recent times, but this Oriental pagan practice in connexion with the dead would always have been condemned by the Church. A rubric at the end of the English Communion Service of 1549 reads:

"And although it bee redde in aunciente writers, that the people many yeares past receiued at the priestes hādes the Sacrament of the body of Christ in theyr owne handes, and no commaundemēt of Christ to the contrary: Yet forasmuche as they many tymes conueyghed the same secretelye awaye, kept it with them, and diuersly abused it to superstition and wickednes: lest any suche thynge hereafter should be attemped, and that an uniformitie might be used, throughoute the whole Realme: it is thought conuenient the people commōly receiveue the Sacramēt of Christes body, in their mouthes, at the Priestes hande."

See Book of Common Prayer, 1549 (=The First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI).

change made in it was the replacement of water by beer and wine, which had the same spiritualizing effect as water:

"Raise thyself up for this thy bread, which cannot mould,
for thy beer, which cannot become sour,
by which thou shalt become spiritually mighty, by which
thou shalt become pre-eminent, by which thou shalt
become physically mighty,
by which thou shalt give thereof to him who was before thee.

O N., thou art glorious and thy successor is glorious."⁽¹⁾

However, wine together with beer was admittedly equated in Pharaonic Egypt with water, the "Eye of Horus" or Osiris'

⁽²⁾ exudations. In the will of a Christian from Antinoë

(1) Pyr. 859; cf. Pyr. 655, 1226; cf. CT 67; 327; TR 39; Bk Dead 189, 7.

(2) Pyr. 36-40, 655; Sethe, Dram. Texte, II 69-71, p. 177 f. The resurrection rôle of the Eye of Horus was first played in the Osirian myth before it was adopted by the deceased. It is a tradition that Horus gave his Eye to his father to eat it, and when he had eaten it he was resuscitated and also became a spirit.

"That which thou hast eaten is an eye; thy body is full of it; thy son, Horus, parts with it for thee, that thou mayest live thereby."

(Pyr. 192. Cf. Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 112, 126-27).

Even the Eye of Seth, when given to Osiris, magically endowed him, as the Eye of Horus, with a spiritual being.

"Thy son Horus has smitten him;
he has snatched back his eye from him;
he has given it to thee,
that thou mayest become glorious thereby,
that thou mayest become mighty before the spirits."

(Pyr. 578 C. - 79 a.)

(5th century A.D.) the following significant statement occurs:

"I desire that celebration be made of the holy offerings and funerary repasts for the repose of my soul before Almighty God." (1)

Bata came back to life by virtue of cold water, in which his heart was immersed by Anūpu, his brother, and which he then drank together with his heart:

"And Anūpu, his elder brother, took up the jar of cold water in which was his younger brother's heart, and he made him drink it, and his heart stood in its place, and he became as he had been." (2)

Had Anūpu not hurried in time to his succour, Bata's heart would have stayed outside his body. This state, to the Egyptian, was something abhorrent, but death could be warded off if the heart were replaced.

"Then thou shalt die! Then the gods will know that thou hast died. Then the Hathōrs will know that thy

(1) Scott-Moncrieff, op. cit., pp. 109-12; 118-19; cf. Bk Dead 178 ll. 20-21.

(2) P. D'Orbigny 14, 2-14, 3; Bibl. Aeg. I 23-4; cf. Lewis, B., Land of Enchanters, London, 1948, p. 62; Lefèvre, op. cit., pp. 153-54.

heart hath come out to the outside." (1)

In the folk-tales here studied, the loss of the heart conduces to the complete destruction of its owner who is usually guiltless, but unrelentingly persecuted by a dangerously jealous opponent constantly planning his destruction. In the Tale of the Merchant's Daughter, the servant, who had by then become the King's bride in place of her mistress, ordered her body-guard to cut her to pieces and bring her her heart to eat.

(1) P. Leyden, 343, 10-12; cf. Pyr. 1450 where Osiris N. has not eaten Horus' Eye, and so dies. In this manner the Egyptians put in practice what they believed in theory. In the process of mummification the brain and the internal organs were removed from inside the dead body, and plugs were put into their cavities. The heart only was left in its place in the belief that the deceased would need it with him in the other world (Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhêt, p. 113). Having been embalmed and preserved for seventy days in the embalmer's workshop (Wbt) (Cf. Herodot., II, 86-88), the corpse was dragged, while bewailed by the relatives, towards the tomb. There the rite of "Opening the Mouth" was performed on the mummy and offerings were made to it. (Bk Dead 1 (vign.) = Totenb. (Nav.) 1 (vign's.)) Meanwhile the deceased was addressed thus:

"Thy own true heart is with thee, thy chest
which thou didst have upon earth"

(The Stele of Dhout - XVII Dyn. = Davies-Gardiner,
op. cit., pp. 56, 115; cf. Bk Dead 169, l. 3; Tombeau
de Neferhotpou, in Mém. Miss. archéol. Vol. V, Pl. 3).

The same thing happened in the rite of "Opening the Mouth", which, as we have seen, involved two struggles, one between Osiris and Seth, and another between Horus and Seth. The deceased (Osiris - here his statue) was offered the heart of a slaughtered bull (Seth) to eat in order first to annihilate his enemy for ever and secondly to sustain himself after his resurrection⁽¹⁾ (cf. fig. 31). The legend to this episode, with reference to the heart of the slaughtered animal, reads, "Putting the heart on the ground before the statue of Osiris N..."⁽²⁾ - thus making the animal's death, and so Seth's, quite certain. In the Underworld "those who live in crime fear him", i.e. "the great god who carrieth away the spirit (Bai), who catcheth the hearts."⁽³⁾ The heart (of a person) and the liver (of an animal) may interchange in these folk-tales as symbols of life. When Bata was transformed into a bull, his wife persuaded Pharaoh to kill him in order that she might eat his liver, on the pretext that he was

(1) Cf. Budge, The Book of Opening the Mouth, London, 1909, pp. 52, 89.

(2) Schiaparelli, Il libro dei funerali, Pl. 52; cf. Pyr. 410, 962-63 = Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 129; Ddm, Patuamenap, Pl. I, 13; Pl. 7, 29.

(3) Bk Dead 17, ll. 113-15; cf. 27, 28 (with vign's).

good for nothing. But Bata was too quick for her, and avoided death by metamorphosing himself into two persea-trees. In the Tale of Donotknow the step-mother tried to kill her step-son in the absence of his father by several magical tricks, but could not do so thanks to his faithful horse, which had forestalled danger and warned him of all attempts (cf. Bata's cows). To get rid of the horse the step-mother pretended to be ill (as did Anūpu's wife, Potiphar's wife in Joseph's story, and the false brides in our folk-tales) and on her husband's return asked him to kill the horse and give her its liver to eat. Her physical recovery as she regarded it (but in reality her return to mental health) depended on this brutal act and could only be accomplished by the removal of the hated person. Yet she failed in what she had contrived. The horse had fled away with "Donotknow".

From the moral standpoint it was not sufficient for the deceased merely to recover his heart in the other world⁽¹⁾ in order to acquire a new life. This was conditioned by the evidence to be given by the heart itself before Osiris in the Judgment-hall (fig.97) about its owner's demeanour in his life-time.⁽²⁾ The

(1) Cf. Pyr. 748; Bk Dead 26.

(2) See the "Introduction for King Merikere^{—C}" in Gardiner, JEA I, 21 = Erman-Blackman, Literature, pp. 77-8.

heart had to be weighed in the balance of Osiris, hence the deceased's imploration to his heart, not to stand against him or leave him: (1)

"O my heart of my mother, my heart of my mother!

O my heart of my modes of being. (2) Stand not forth against me, as witness, confront me not in the assembly of judgment, and incline thou not against me in the presence of the keeper of the Balance!

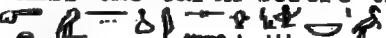
For thou art my Ka which is in my body." (3) (fig. 98)

(1) Besides his declaration that he did not commit such and such a sin- a series of negative declarations wrongly termed "Negative Confessions" Bk Dead 125.

(2) Gardiner, op. cit., 119-20.

(3) Bk Dead 30 B. Thus the heart in the Osirian belief appears to have had an independent individuality. Its personification is also noticeable in the common phrase as ib nb  . See Maspero, Hymne au Nil, 2, l. 10; Bouriant, op. cit., ll. 12. Both ib nb and hr nb have the same meaning. Wb. III 130; Gardiner, Eg. Gramm. § 103; Grapow, Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen, 113-14; cf. Griffiths, J.G., The Meaning of ND and of ND-HR, in JEA XXXVII, 37. With almost the same meaning two other expressions  and  may be used: "Nobody perceived her."

 and "All spirits kiss the earth before thee."

 Sander-Hansen, op. cit., pp. 124, 98.

That the trial of the dead was solar in origin is suggested by one of the Coffin Texts,⁽¹⁾ where mention is made of "that balance of Re^c in which he weighed Justice."



The idea of weighing Justice, the importance of which came into prominence in the New Kingdom, seems to have been common in the Middle Kingdom, and would in that case have been Osirianized at that time. The deceased was addressed thus:

"Thine evil will be expelled and thy guilt will be wiped out by those who handle the balance on the day when deeds are reckoned."⁽²⁾

That Anubis is the god who counts the hearts and is powerful over the best of the hearts,"⁽³⁾ may refer, though in a very obscure manner, to the weighing of the heart against the symbol of Ma^ct in the Old Kingdom. Further evidence of the sun-god's right to judge the deceased in the other world and the rôle of Anubis as the weigher of the hearts there is illustrated by a vignette of the Papyrus of Mah,⁽⁴⁾ and reproduced here as fig. 99. In this figure

(1) Lacau, Textes religieux, XXXVII, p. 87.

(2) CT 44.

(3) Pyr. 157 c; cf. Pyr. 143-46, 1287.

(4) See Naville, Totenb. I, Pl. 136.

it is Rē^c who presides over the weighing of the deceased's heart, while Anubis drags him before the god.⁽¹⁾ Unfortunately however these texts are not paralleled earlier in the Pyramid Texts so that it is not proved conclusively that the idea was solar originally. Yet it seems probable, for ideas of justice in general are prominently associated with Rē^c.

Because the Egyptian realised that his future welfare was to be entrusted to his heart, he was quick to notice that the fruit of the sacred persea-tree was shaped like a heart, a heart moreover endowed with the eternity which the sacred tree possessed. He could in this way enjoy eternity after death, and Pharaoh in his life-time could enjoy a long and prosperous reign, by sitting in the tree and by having his name written on its fruit. Thus the persea-tree was a sacred tree from the first, and there is every truth in Plutarch's words:

"Of the plants in Egypt they say that the persea is especially consecrated to the goddess (i.e. Isis) because its fruit resembles a heart and its leaf a tongue."⁽²⁾

(1) Cf. Budge, Osiris II, p. 329.

(2) Plut., De Iside 378 C.

In other words, the tongue and the heart made the persea-
tree a source of eternity, a minute Universe throbbing with
life. It was Ptah's tongue and heart that brought about the
larger Universe with its gods and men, provided for their
sustenance and well-being, and set in motion the creative
process which has continued ever since, and this too is some-
thing eternal.

CHAPTER XIII

CREATION AND RESURRECTION FROM BONES

In our folk-tales the two main Osirian water and vegetation themes build up the natural setting on which the central figures appear playing their rôle of death and resurrection. They are therefore comparable with the Osirian myth as told in later times, but its motifs are as old as Egyptian life and thought. Alien elements in Plutarch's story were unavoidable. His narrative was well known and widely read in his day and was one of the main sources of inspiration for folklorists of Europe and Western Asia. The introduction of Osiris' (or Sarapis') cult into Europe by the Greeks and Romans and their survival there down to the sixth century A.D., together with the telling analogy between certain Occidental and other non-Egyptian Oriental myths on the one hand and our Osirian myth on the other - all this attests to our view that the dissemination of the Osiris myth in late times was due to Plutarch's works, and that from thence it spread to the folk-tales. As far as water and vegetation are concerned, there is an amazing similarity between the chief parts of the Osirian myth and those of Graeco-Roman, West Asiatic, and European myths and folk-tales. It is worthy of note that most of the leading personalities in the folk-tales are female, and that their adventures usually end in a happy marriage, the stock ending of Western fairy-tales, but something foreign to

the Egyptian. Thus the Osirian myth in later and classical eras seems to have had two distinct, yet intimately blended sides: one indigenous, the other foreign.

Though Osiris remained all the time in the Egyptian mind as a male divinity, he was considered, when he was linked up with the Cosmos, as both father and mother of men, that is to say, he was to some extent androgynous. According to Plutarch, Osiris lost his member, which was eaten by certain kinds of fish,⁽¹⁾ and thus the god looked without it as if he had been a female rather than a male being. Bata, whom we consider as another Osiris, underwent the same transformation, though it was done by himself. Re^c too, before both Osiris and Bata, had cut off his phallus.⁽²⁾ Such mutilation did not in the least undermine their fertility. Oddly enough it remained as strong as ever, and enabled them to enter again into sexual intercourse despite their self-mutilation, and to reproduce themselves, one in his son Horus, the other in the babe Bata, to take revenge on their enemies.

The experiences of the central characters of our folk-tales reflect them as beings of water and vegetation. They are raised

(1) Plut., De Iside 358 B.

(2) Bk Dead 17, ll. 60-64; cf. Leps., Todt. Pl. 8, ll. 23-4; Rundle Clark, op. cit., II, p. 131. Supra, p. II2.

from death by water and saved from it again by plants in general and trees in particular. They all dwell for a time in trees (sometimes flowery shrubs) under the guise of fruits and birds, just as Osiris and the Osiris deceased once did. They live inside the trees, like the gods of ancient Egypt, or take shelter in their branches like Osiris' spirit and the spirits of the gods and of the dead, either after they have been put to death, or in order that they may escape imminent death. But like Osiris, some of them are cut up or eaten and their limbs or bones then thrown out into a court, a garden or a wilderness. These they fertilize, and so reappear as wondrous trees, flowers, or vegetables. In this new state they wait for an ultimate transformation into a human shape. This state marks the climax of each plot, after which their problems are solved and a happy ending follows.

We have stated that the folk-heroes and heroines may in the process of their persecution be eaten and feasted on, and that their bones may be cast away, only to germinate into a tree. This indicates that the tree is a temporary receptacle or means of resurrection. In our folk-tales the heroine is usually innocent, yet persecuted by a resentful member of her family, mostly a step-mother, who out of selfishness and jealousy objects to her presence. The heroine may be cooked and eaten in a kind of feast, but her bones when flung away ultimately grow up into a tree. In other words she

is transfigured into a tree, where she finds sanctuary. As we have seen, from Osiris' limbs, scattered over Egypt, grew trees with different names, but, as we shall see further in a moment, cannibalism may be associated with resurrection in Egypt without the medium of the tree. Cannibalism is reflected in Egyptian religion in two places; one in the Pyramid Texts where Osiris, the deceased, eats the gods and thereby acquires their potency, and the other in the legend found in the Cenotaph of Sethos I, concerning the mother-goddess Nut, who ate up her children. The first is much older than the second. It can readily be traced far back to the Pyramid age, as it is preserved by Pyr. 393-414, and it may belong to a very remote, yet undefinable, period of savage cannibalism. The Egyptians believed that to eat truth would endow the person who ate it with truthfulness and justice, just as the abstract idea of life could be acquired by breathing it in like air or breath, and that to suck a goddess' milk would endow a man with youth and immortality. In the above-mentioned Pyramid Text, called by some the "Cannibal Hymn", Pharaoh eats gods (and also men - gods being always human in Egyptian religion), and by so doing, he gains mastery over them all, after he has absorbed in himself their physical and spiritual attributes. In one of our folk-tales, as in other similar ones, the step-mother finds that the step-daughter is making home a hell for her, since she has to share her husband's love with her. Psychologically, a

step-mother feels an acute inferiority complex towards the step-daughter, possibly because she is the embodiment of a previous wife, the memory of whom excites in her a vehement jealousy that mostly finds vent in cruelty. In fact, to get rid of the young girl seems to her the only solution to the problem; not only does it remove her but also invests the step-mother with power to extract from her husband all his love and care for herself alone, making her the undisputed mistress of the house.

If we consider the thoughts underlying the Egyptian "Cannibal Hymn", we shall be able to find a strikingly similar parallel of a cannibal meal followed by power, the devouring of cooked limbs, with consequent power over the Universe, gods and men.

"It is Onnos who has made his own meal

It is Onnos who eats men and lives on gods." (1)

His fierce messengers watch, lasso, hunt, drive and bind them for him, (2) to serve as a sumptuous meal. It is one of them

(1) Pyr. 399d-400a.

(2) Pyr. 400 b - 402 a.

"who will slay them for Onnos,
who cooks for him a meal of them in his evening fire-places.
It is Onnos who eats their magic and who swallows their spirits;
their Great Ones are for his morning meal,
their middle-sized ones are for his evening meal,
their little ones are for his night meal
It is "The Great Ones who are in the north side of the sky"
who lay for him the fire to the kettles containing them,
with the forearms of their eldest."⁽¹⁾

As to old men and women, they prove petty in his eyes and incapable of stimulating his gluttony. They are instead used for fuel, and with the legs of the old women the cooking pots are wiped out. Specific parts and powers of the gods are deliberately chosen for his repast - their vertebrae, spinal marrows, hearts and lungs; their magic, souls and intelligence.⁽²⁾

After such a heavy meal, Pharaoh's instinct of self-assertion is gratified.

"Onnos is the great mighty one, who has power over the mighty ones.

Onnos is the chm-falcon, who surpasses the chm-falcons - the great falcon.

(1) Pyr. 403 a - 404 c.

(2) Pyr. 409 b - 411 d.

Him whom he finds on his way, he devours for himself

bit by bit"⁽¹⁾

Onnos is a god older than the eldest⁽²⁾

Onnos has dawned again in the sky, he is crowned with the
Upper Egyptian crown as lord of the horizon."⁽³⁾

And the climax of his power is reached as we read that

"The lifetime of Onnos is eternity, his limit is everlasting-
ingness,

in this his dignity of

'If he wishes he does,

if he wishes not he does not.'"⁽⁴⁾

As a divine king, he reigns in the kingdom of Re^c.⁽⁵⁾

In the Roman era, Julius Firmicus Maternus in his defence
of Christianity makes the Sun (Osiris?) preach for him the Faith
and reproach the pagans for foolishly believing that he was drowned

(1) Pyr. 407 a-c.

(2) Pyr. 408 a ; cf. Pyr. 395 b.

(3) Pyr. 409 a.

(4) Pyr. 412 a-b.

(5) Pyr. 273-4; Faulkner, The "Cannibal Hymn" from the Pyramid Texts, in JEA X, 97 ff; Wiedemann, A., Die Toten und ihre Reiche im glauber der alten Mgypter, in Alte Or. II. 2, pp. 18-19; Frankfort, Intellectual Adventure, pp. 66 ff; Speleers, Comment..., p. 160; Erman-Blackman, Literature, pp. 5 ff.; Breasted, Development, pp. 127-29.

in the Nile, that he suffered the loss of his sexual part, and that his mutilated limbs were boiled in a pot (alii crudeli morte (1) caesum aut in olla decoquunt).

There is a legend that Nut ate up her children, including Osiris, (2) and then threw their bones onto the ground from above. From these bones those children finally arose again. In this legend the spirits of the dead appear as stars (3) following the sun (4) in heaven: with him rising from and setting in the body of their mother the sky-goddess Nut (figs. 75, 76). Nut's children "enter her mouth in the place of her head in the West. Then she ate them. Then Geb quarrelled with Nut, because he was angry with her because of the eating of her young ones" (5) Her father Shu takes such compassion

(1) Julius Firmicus Maternus, op. cit., VIII. 2, pp. 64-5.

(2) The children of Nut are four: Osiris, Isis, Nephthys and Seth. Sethe, Dram. Texte II, p. 224. As to Seth the son of Nut see Bk Dead 86, l. 6; cf. also Nagel, Bull. Inst. fr. XXVIII, 36; Plut., De Iside 355 F.

(3) Müller, op. cit., p. 55. Cf. Plut., De Iside 359 D.

(4) For the daily birth of the sun by Nut see Pyr. 1688, 1835; CT 159, ll. 363-72; Bk Dead 109 II; and for the Osiris deceased following the sun-god see Pyr. 152, 154, 156, 158, 310-11, 313-14; Bk Dead 134; Sethe, Dram. Texte I, ll. 63-4, pp. 75-5; Düm., Patuamenap, II, p. 53.

(5) Frankfort, Cenotaph, I, 83-86; II, Pl. 84.

upon her children that he pronounces that "she shall give birth to them and they shall live (again), and they shall come forth in the place at her hinder part in the east every day, even as she gave birth (the first time?)...."⁽¹⁾

"Then they lived; they showed their heads from the horizon."⁽²⁾

Then their bones fell to the earth as stars

having fallen to?, their bones have become men"⁽³⁾

This is a good proof that the Egyptian's life is part and parcel of the cosmic solar cycle. It is thus eternal through the recurrence of resurrection both celestial and terrestrial. The various devices of resurrection, we have seen, are such things as water, saliva, blood, milk, plant, and we are now to see that these include bone. We have also seen how the Osiris deceased could be revivified once he restored to himself the moisture he had lost by

(1) Ibid., l. 5.

(2) Ibid., ll. 7-8. The idea that Osiris, like Rē^c, enters the mouth of his mother Nut and comes out from between her thighs is expressed in a passage on the sarcophagus of 'Ankhnesneferibre^c: "O Osiris N.! I am thy mother Nut. I stretch myself above thee in this name of mine, 'Sky' that thou mayest enter my mouth and that thou mayest come out from my thighs as Rē^c did every day."

Sander-Hansen, op. cit., p. 118; cf. Supra, p. 141.

(3) Ibid., ll. 8-9, 11-12.

death, and that ritually this moisture is the inundation-water
which comes from the Nile sources where Osiris is buried; (1) and
is also his exudations. These come forth from the god's body, (2)
and sometimes are believed to have issued from his thigh or leg.
Further the "Eye of Horus", poured in lustral washing as the water
(3) of life, is similarly identified with incense and Osiris' sweat,
and they are all considered as Osiris' exudations, his moisture by
which gods and men live (4) or the water of life. Thus "The Eye of
Horus" extends its ritual functions to include Osiris' water of the
sources of the Nile or of inundation, incense, sweat, and exudations,
all of which are capable of endowing the deceased with a new life.
It seems then that there must be some sort of relation between "the
Eye of Horus" and the leg-bone as far as Osirian resurrection is
concerned. How this relation arose is of particular significance,
and worth investigation.

We have first of all to bear in mind the swallowing of her
children by Nut and their final emergence from being dead bones in

(1) Junker, Götterdekret, p. 37 f.; Supra, passim.

(2) Pyr. 868; cf. Pyr. 848 and Supra, p. 60; Breasted, Development, p. 19.

(3) Cf. ZAS XXXVIII, 30.

(4) Mar., Abydos II, 54. 7; cf. Pyr. 589.

the myth. In the Pyramid Texts too, we find the idea of the emergence of a dead person from his bones.

"N. was born on the second of the month 3bd;

he was conceived on the fifteenth of the month smdt;

(for) he came forth from the vertebra (bksw) of a grasshopper among those whom the wasp procreated."⁽¹⁾

The same idea is contained in another text⁽²⁾ where Sokar creates anew the Osiris deceased from his bones, and once he has made Osiris' osseous frame, he breaks his egg to bring him forth to light - an originally solar idea later Osirianized⁽³⁾ - that he may fly in his boat to heaven.

"Let then Sokar⁽⁴⁾ of Pdw come

that he may mould his bones, that he may construct his skeleton ...

It is he who shall break the egg, and (loose) the copper."⁽⁵⁾

(1) Pyr. 1772. Like Khons (the moon-god) the Osiris deceased is born as the new crescent on 3bd (Brugsch, Matériaux, p. 59 = Parker, Calendars, p. 12) His soul after death (Pyr.) 474 also flew up to heaven, and so he assumed several shapes amongst which is the locust (Pyr. 891; cf. Pyr. 366, 463, 890, 1430, 1484, 1948, 1971, 2206; Bk Dead 76; 77; Vandier, Religion, p. 71).

(2) Pyr. 1967.

(3) CT II 36; 44; the myth of Horus' birth from the egg 209-26; Supra, p.103; Pyr. 714.

(4) Although Sokar was mainly a divine craftsman in the Old Kingdom, the rôle of creator was sometimes assigned to him. Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 124, 138.

(5) Pyr. 1967; cf. Speleers, Comment ..., p. 134; Textes des cercueils, II, 52, 54, 80-82.

Re^c himself is said to have been born from Nut's bones, ⁽¹⁾ and from bones too came forth Thoth and Suchos. ⁽²⁾

There are other words than bksw meaning leg such as sbk ⁽³⁾ and si3ty ~~26411~~. From the leg ~~2611~~ of Osiris flows the Nile to revivify Egypt - and

"The first name of Onnōphris, justified,
who discharges the Nile, he cometh forth
from the leg of Osiris." ⁽⁴⁾

Moreover it is said of the Nile at Denderah and Philae that it flows from his leg. ⁽⁵⁾ The same water as has come out of the leg is, moreover, used for pouring out libations and inundating the land:

"(I give unto thee)
the water that hath come forth from the leg
(to inundate the field with its foods)." ⁽⁶⁾

(1) Rusch, Himmelsgöttin Nut, p. 44.

(2) Pyr. 1963, 507. A tradition from the Middle Kingdom says that Re^c created Ptah from his own bones. CT 154 = Speleers, Textes des cercueils, pp. 86, 377.

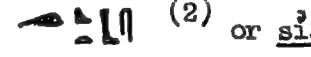
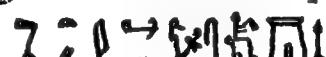
(3) Wb. IV, 93.

(4) Junker, op. cit., pp. 40-41; cf. Chass., Mammisi, 69, Pl. 20; Bénédite, Le temple de Philae, 83, Pl. 27, inscr. behind Horus; Düm., Geogr. Inschr. I, 74; II, 35 b; Sander-Hansen, op. cit., pp. 99-100.

(5) Düm., op. cit., III, 18.

(6) Chass., Edfou, II, 258.

The leg sbk had a shrine in the temple of Edfu 
"in which the divine body is concealed", and "Isis guardeth her brother" and "protecteth his body" or "Guardeth the sacred divine body in Hwt-sbk built "so as to honour the leg of the Great One."⁽¹⁾ It is that very leg which causes the Nile to rise.

Yet how the leg sbk or si3ty has come to be connected with "the Eye of Horus" is most interesting. It is in "the Eye of the Moon" that we have to search for the answer. This eye of the moon is called sbkt  ⁽²⁾ or si3ty  or si3t.t, the "Injured Eye" of the moon-god, ⁽³⁾ Thoth, ⁽⁴⁾ and its chapel is called Hwt-sbkt, or "the noble chapel which protecteth the leg."  Consequently sbk is a symbol of the moon, and it is the baboons "who guard this sbkt,

(1) Ibid., I, 268, 3.

(2) Wb. IV, 94; a name of the moon:



(3) See Kees, ZAS IX, 12.

(4) Lacau, Sarcophages, II, 29, No. 5, l. 12 f.

who protect the obelisk."⁽¹⁾ The latter is also another symbol of the moon deposited in the obelisk which, like the Hwt-sbkt protects the body of Khons' father, i.e. Osiris.⁽²⁾ The Hwt-sbkt at the temple of Edfu is consecrated to Khons, the moon-god (fig.101) "to protect his image within it,"⁽³⁾ and is situated on the left-hand side of the Sanctuary, since Khons was the "left

(1) Kees, Ibid. The adoration of baboons to the sun-god is represented on the temple of Abu Simbel and is preserved on certain papyri with hymns (sometimes illustrated) to this god. Bk Dead 15 (with vignettes) cf., Jequier, G., Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes, Neuchâtel, 1946, pp. 153-60; The Pap. of Her Weben P. 133 in Cairo Museum = Piankoff, A., Les deux papyrus "mythologiques" de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire, in Ann. Serv. XLIX, 133-34, Pl. 4; Speleers, Comment, 214, 216-18, 223, 225, 227-28, 231, 234, 236, (fig.102). A part of P. Berlin 3050 (VI. 6-VII. 2) runs:

"The (solar) baboons sacrifice to thee that which is in their hands, they sing to thee, they dance for thee; they recite for thee spells with their mouth. They proclaim thee both in heaven and on earth; they lead thee in thy beauteous epiphany, they (...) open to thee the gates of the western horizon of the sky. They cause Ré^C to go to thy mother Nut in peace and in joy."

Cf. Maspero, Hist. ancienne 35. As to the relation of the baboon to the moon see Jean. Laurent Lydus, Des mois 3; Horapollo, Bk I, Hierog's 14, 15, 16; Antoniadi, L'astronomie égyptienne, pp. 87; 91; Virey, La religion de l'ancienne Egypte, p. 144, fig. 6.

(2) Chass., Edfou, I, 278, 10 ff.; 269, 14.

(3) Chass., Ibid., 251, 1 f.

eye" of the sky-god. One of his titles is

o 2 - 57. 2

This undoubtedly sheds light on the relation between the Moon and Osiris as a moon-deity, whose shrine is also the Hwt-sbkt, and on him as a water-god from whose leg sbk flows the Nile.⁽¹⁾ The "Eye of Horus" is also the source of the Nile waters, and both the "Eye of Horus" and the moon-god can be identified with

(1) Plutarch explains the identification of Osiris with the moon. He asserts that Osiris lived (or ruled?) twenty-eight years, such number being the approximate number of days the moon takes to complete its monthly cycle (See Parker, Calendars, p. 9) and that of the highest flood at Elephantine (twenty-eight cubits), and that he was cut to fourteen pieces, this number again being the number of days of the moon's waning from full to new moon, (Ibid., p. 12). He pretends that the Egyptians made a wooden crescent-shape coffer in the ceremony called "burials of Osiris", and celebrated a festival called "Osiris' coming to the moon", when the new moon of Phamenoth was seen, thus putting Osiris' power in the moon. Plut. De Iside 367 C - 368 D. Though Plutarch's explanation is, as we believe, his own or at least purely Greek, it refers to Osiris as the origin of moisture and also expounds his close relation to the Nile flood and the moon. In a preceding passage (366 F) Plutarch indirectly explains the relation between the god and the moon. On the nineteenth of Athyr, the Egyptians, he says, went at night to the Nile, and the priests poured potable water from the river into a small golden coffer. Then "a great shout arises from the company for joy that Osiris is found. Then they knead some fertile soil with the water and mix in spices and incense of a very costly sort, and fashion therefrom a crescent shaped figure which they clothe and adorn."

It is probable that the waning and waxing of the moon refer to the death and resurrection of Osiris. Gressmann, Alte Or. XXIII (Hft. 3) 3-5; cf. Junker, op. cit., pp. 41-5.

each other, as the former is the water and the latter the leg, its source. Besides, Horus the sky-god's left eye is the moon. (1) From prehistoric times Horus' two eyes were (right) the sun and (left) the moon, as he was a sky-god whose face was the sky. "It is he who illumineth the Two Lands with his eyes" by day and by night. (2) The New-Kingdom text on the contendings of Horus and Seth refers to the confusion of "Horus son of Isis" with "the Elder Horus" and to his two eyes, the sun and the moon, which Seth put out and "buried upon the mountain in order to illumine the earth." (3) In one of the hymns to Amin, Horus is identified with Harakhti and it is said that his right eye is day, his left eye, night. (4) The same belief was extant in Roman times. In the drama of the temple of Edfu, Horus' celestial attribute, after his victory

(1) Kees, Zu den ägyptischen Mondsagen, in ZAS LX, 11-4. Blackman-Fairman, in Estratto da Miscellanea Gregoriana (1839-1939), pp. 416-18. As to Horus the sky-god in prehistoric times see Abubakr, op. cit., pp. 41-2, with fig. 24.

(2) Maspero, Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie, XXXVIII, p. 12. Sethe, Sonnenauge, 5. Moret, Le Nil..., pp. 71, 106.

(3) Gardiner, Contendings 10-4, p. 21; cf. the eyes of Osiris which shine in his head Pyr. 1976-82; Breasted, Development, pp. 32-3.

(4) P. Leyden I 350, ll. V, 19-20 = Gardiner, ZAS XLII, 38-9.

over Seth, is explained by his illumination of Egypt with his two eyes. In this act, a hint is probably given of the triumph of justice over injustice, materially represented by the dissipation of darkness by light.

"He illumined the Two Lands with his beauty,
as the pupils of his eyes were dilated." (1)

Horus the Elder still remained at that time a sky-god whose eyes were the sun and the moon. Inscriptions from Kom Ombo describe him thus:

"His glorious face is the face of the horizon deity

The nb wd3ty (lord of the two eyes) in whose countenance are the sun and the moon.

His right eye is the sun's disc and his left eye is Atum.
His two divine eyes shine in the morning and the evening." (2)

We have noticed that in Pyr. 1967, Sokar as a creator-god breathed into the deceased's bones and made his skeleton[?]- or flesh (?], and that in the story of Nut who devoured her children, among whom was Osiris, that the children finally came into being

(1) Chass., Edfou, VI, 88, 10 b.

(2) De Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Egypte ancienne, Kom Ombos II, p. 292 no. 939, Pl. 295; cf. Junker, H., Ein Doppelhymnus aus Kom Ombo, in ZAS LXVII, 53; Mercer, Religion, p. 25; Plut., De Iside 373 D-E; 372 B; Speleers, Comment...., pp. 256-57.

again from their bones. In the Old Testament the well-known story is that God created a wife for Adam from his rib, that he might not suffer loneliness. (1) Besides, men were resurrected from bones. In the same source there is a parallel to the above-mentioned Egyptian incidents of Sokar and Nut in that there was a valley full of bones. Having sent a breath of wind into them, God covered them with flesh and skin, and so they could eventually become men:

"Thus saith the Lord God unto these bones;
Behold I will cause breath to enter into you,
and ye shall live: And I will lay sinews upon
you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and
cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and
ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord.
...; there was a noise, and behold a shaking, and
the bones came together, bone to his bone. And when
I (i.e. Ezekiel) beheld, lo, the sinews and the
flesh came up upon them, and the skin covered them
above: but there was no breath in them. Come

(1) "And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman because she was taken out of Man." (Gen., III. 21-23).

from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live. and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood up upon their feet, an exceeding great army. "⁽¹⁾

In several places of the Korān, God in a like manner resurrects the dead from their dry bones so that His action may be a concrete proof of His supreme unchallengeable power, and that infidels may believe in Him as the sole Creator. ⁽²⁾ In the Korān, (Sūrat al-Baqarah, 261) God sends Abraham to sleep for a hundred years, and at the end of that time shows him the bones of his donkey beside him in order to demonstrate how He can resurrect it from its bones.

"Or (has thou not considered) how he (behaved) who passed by a town which had fallen down upon its roofs. He said, 'How will Allah restore it to life after its death?'"

"Then Allah caused him to die for a hundred

(1) Ezekiel XXXVIII 5-10.

(2) Al Kofān, chap. XVII The Israelites (Bani-Isrāeel) 48.
Ibid., chap. XXIII The Believers (Al-Mu'minūn) 11-15, 81.
Ibid., chap. XXXVII The Rangers (As Sāffāt) 15.
Ibid., chap. LVI The Great Event (Al-Wāqi'ah) 46.
Ibid., chap. LXXV The Resurrection (Al-Qiyāmah) 2.
Ibid., chap. LXXIX The Drawers (An-Nāzi'āt) 2-10.

years; then He raised him, and said, 'How long hast thou remained?' He answered, 'I have remained a day or part of a day.' He said, 'Nay, thou hast remained for a hundred years. Now look at thy food and thy drink; they have not rotted. And look at thy ass.'"

The ass's bones were dry and scattered on the ground. God proved that He could put flesh on them and by breathing into them bring the ass back to existence.

"....And look at the bones, how We set them and then clothe them with flesh." ⁽¹⁾

(1) Ibid., chap. II The Cow (Al-Baqarah) 261. Also see The Holy Quran with English Translation and commentary, Vol. I, published by the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya, Qadian, India, 1947, pp. 228-30. Al-Mahalli and Al-Suyūti, Tafsīr al-Jalalain, A.H. 1300, Vol. I, pp. 33-4. Mohammad Rashid Redā, Tafsīr al-Korān al-Hakīm, Cairo, Vol. III, pp. 45-52.

CHAPTER XIV

OSIRIS' DEATH IN THE WATER

We have seen how the sacred tree was primordially the dwelling or the resting-place of the sun-god, and how Osiris took it over to himself to be his tomb. Just as Rē^c appeared at the top of the tree when rising, so the soul of Osiris, represented as a phoenix, occupied the tree shading his tomb. Before the Eighteenth Dynasty both gods appeared but rarely in their human form in the tree. Both dwelt therein. Osiris was also identified with the tree as well as being inherent in Nature. In the scene on Hadrian's Wall at Philae, he seems to be himself the tree-stem, rising from his water, at the same time as he is the water passing up into the tree, his body, in order to nourish it. He thus appears simultaneously in the rôles of a water deity and a tree-deity. The god in his mummified human form receives libation-offerings here from his two sisters standing outside the tree, contrary to mortuary convention, where the deceased receives them from the tree-goddess standing inside the tree. This divergence from convention is significant in our view - libations are vital for both - for Osiris because they are his exudations, and for the tree because they are of the reviving Nile water.

Besides this, he may be immanent in the tree which springs up from his tomb and which gives shelter to his Bai. Both cases, -

identification and immanence - have one and the same end, the association of Osiris with the tree. In one he is visible, passive, and the recipient of vital water, while in the other he is invisible, active, and the giver of vitality and fertility. Osiris' immanence in the tree, and his identification with it, are his two most important natural traits, and they seemsto be of similar age. After his death, Osiris was a spirit dwelling in the tree as well as in the water, a concept which found expression in the custom, if we may believe Plutarch, of refraining from destroying a plant or a spring of water. That the immanence of Osiris in Nature is as old as his identification with her is understandable from his relation to corn and his attitude to the corn-god Nepri, an aspect not hitherto discussed. Before we come to deal with this last, however, we propose to say a word about his drowning and burial.

It is an established fact that Osiris met his doom in Upper Egypt. The existence all over Egypt of sepulchres, each containing a part of his corpse, does not mean that he died several times and was buried in distinct places, but rather that the god's body was distributed amongst the chief cities of Egypt. The claim of each city that the whole body was buried within its precincts can be explained by the god's popularity and the people's profound veneration for him. The scene of his death, according to the oldest traditions, was a place at Abydus called "Nedit". How the god reached these

scattered burial-places is particularly important: drowning, and the later conveyance of the parts of the body by water, would provide the ideal solution. For the god is a water-god who absorbed in himself the Inundation, *Ha^cpy*. The oldest traditions concerning the Nedit tragedy, at which the god met his end, are preserved by the Heliopolitan Pyramid Texts and the text of Shabako (which coming from Memphis gives, for reasons of local patriotism, Memphis and not Abydus as his burial place).

The fatal struggle between Osiris and Seth at Nedit, (i.e. "the Place of Beating down")⁽¹⁾ the Osiris-myth proper, is related in the Pyramid Texts.⁽²⁾ There Seth fought Osiris, and "beat him down."⁽³⁾ *Re^c* and the other gods were moved by the enormity of this crime,

"Ah! Ah! O (*Re^c*) hast thou not heard the voice which cried out loudly until the evening on the bank of Nedit, the voice of all the gods and goddesses which cried out loudly, the outcry on the villainy which thou hast done, O vile enemy?"⁽⁴⁾

(1) Kees, Götterglaube, p. 258.

(2) Pyr. 163, 173, 175, 1007, 1477, 628 ff., 1630; cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 16 f.

(3) Pyr. 957; cf. Pyr. 1007, 1477.

(4) Mett. 47, cf. Budge, Legends of the Gods, London, 1912, p. 155.

The enemy here is the newly-born ȝbdw-fish, (a fish chosen because its name is homophonous, or nearly so, with "Abydus") one of the water-creatures which would be expected to attack Osiris while he was floating down the river from Nedit to Busiris. (1) Ignoring the enmity between them, (2) Re^c re-united Osiris' head to his body.

"The Great One is fallen on his side;
he who is in Nedit stars;
his head is lifted up by Re^c;
his horror is to sleep, he hates to be tired." (3)

His mother Nut protected him against every evil, fitted back his head, gathered his bones, joined his limbs, and put his heart back in his body. (4) Horus likewise delivered him:

"N., O. N., lift thee up upon thy side, (thou) doer of command;
(thou) who hatest sleep, (thou) who art made tired,
stand up, (thou) who art in Nedit." (5)

(1) Cf. Ibid., ll. 39-42.

(2) Kees, op. cit., p. 269.

(3) Pyr. 721; cf. CT 69, 292; Pyr. 260, 819, 1500, 1267, 2188; Pyr. 1267 is an outspoken expression of the hostility between Re^c and Osiris and has reference to the latter's disaster at Nedit.

For further details see Drioton, Sarcasmes contre les adorateurs d'Horus in Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud, Paris, 1939, t. II, pp. 495-506; Breasted, Development, pp. 139-40; Weill, op. cit., pp. 112 ff.

(4) Pyr. 825, 828.

(5) Pyr. 260.

Again, Isis diligently searched the country for his remains, until she found him lying on his side at Nedit, where she buried him. Together Horus and Isis raised Osiris, and both punished Seth:

"Stand up, see this, stand up, hear this,
what thy son has done for thee, what Horus has done for thee.
He beats him who beats thee; he binds him who binds thee;
he puts him under his great daughter who is in Kedem.
(It is) thy great sister who collected thy flesh, who
gathered thy hands,
who sought thee, who found thee upon thy side on the
bank of Nedit"⁽¹⁾

Nephthys also took part in the search

"They (i.e. Isis and Nephthys) found Osiris,
after his brother Seth had felled him to the earth in Nedit,
when Osiris (N.) said, 'Come to me!'"⁽²⁾

And they both declared that they had found him:

"('I have found') said Isis. 'I have found', said
Nephthys, (when) they saw Osiris (stretched) on
his side on the bank of Nedit."⁽³⁾

(1) Pyr. 1007-08; cf. 1976-77.

(2) Pyr. 1256.

(3) Pyr. 1008; cf. Bk Dead 20, 6.

Thus Re^C , Nut, Horus, Isis, and Nephthys were all, in different passages in the Pyramid Texts, concerned to recover, save, and raise Osiris from his abhorred sleep and fatigue.⁽¹⁾ The Glorified Osiris was interred at Nedit, which was near Thinis and not, as Kees thinks, at Busiris.

"A god comes, a god comes, N. comes (who shall be)

on the throne of Osiris,
that spirit comes who is in Nedit,⁽²⁾ that power which

is in the Thinite nome."⁽³⁾

When Isis and Nephthys had found him "on the bank of Nedit", they lamented him.⁽⁴⁾ In Stundenwachen, pp. 84, 86-7, Osiris is said to have drowned at Busiris (erroneously translated "Abydus" by Junker), "I found", says Isis, "the 'Drowned One' on that northern bank of Busiris." Moreover it does not follow that Nedit was in the Delta, near Busiris, nor that the drowning of Osiris was supposed to have occurred in one single place. The Egyptians located it in several places in Upper and Lower Egypt.

(1) Pyr. 584; cf. CT 74.

(2) Or "the noble Boinou in Nedit" $B(1)nw sps m Ndit$, as the phoenix is Re^C 's bird with which Osiris' spirit or Bai is identified. Junker, Götterdekret, pp. 1, 2; cf. Bk Dead 17, ll. 25-7.

(3) Pyr. 754; cf. 899, 2108.

(4) Roeder, Günther, Urkunden zur Religion, 42; Kees, op. cit., p. 331, n. 7 and passim "Nedit". See also Sethe, Urgeschichte, § 100, p. 85.

After the death of Osiris, the conflict against Seth at Nedit was resumed by Horus. (1) This conflict was enacted as a drama performed, at any rate in the Middle Kingdom, on the occasion of the "Great Procession" Prt^c3t at Abydus, at which the death of Osiris on the bank of Nedit was the main theme. The tombstone of Ikhernofret, a man who played an important part in the celebration of the rite in the time of Sesostris III, seems to indicate that the murder of the god was not depicted, which leads us to believe that it was not a mystery play like the Mystery Play of the Succession. In it the carrying of the god's corpse on a barge, to the Necropolis to be buried at Poker, was an important item. Ikhernofret, who represented the King there, says:

"I marshalled the Procession of Wepwawet when he went to deliver his father.

I repelled those who rebelled against the Neshmet-boat and overthrew the enemies of Osiris.

I marshalled the Great Procession and accompanied the god on his way.

I caused the god's boat to sail, while Thoth guided the journey.

(1) Pyr. 1007-08, 1972-79.

I equipped the boat called H^C-m-m3^Ct of the Lord of Abydus with a deckhouse, and his beautiful trappings were fastened on, when he went to the district⁽¹⁾ of Poker.

I directed the path of the god to his tomb which is in Poker.

I delivered Onnōphris on that day of the Great Battle and I overthrew all his enemies on (this) bank⁽²⁾ of Nedit.

I made him proceed inside the Great Ship⁽³⁾ and she displayed his beauty that I might make glad the eastern deserts and caused rejoicing in the western deserts when they gazed on the beauty of

(1) So Sethe, ("Bezirk"), hazarded for "w" "district", presumably owing to Old Coptic ΟΥΝΩΚΕ and the frequent occurrence of the fuller spellings
← ▀ ▀ ▀ etc.

(2) Whatever may be the meaning of tsw (perhaps "sandbank" or "place inundated only at high Nile vel. sim, see Vandier's discussion, La famine, p. 74 ff.) the variant idb n Ndyt (e.g. Metternich 47) shows that at any rate in this connection the shore or river-bank was in question.

(3) Wrt, i.e. the Nsmt. Cf. B.M. 567 l. 9 Nsmt wrt.

the Neshmet-boat. It came to land at Abydus."⁽¹⁾

To see the Neshmet-boat was the ambition of every dead man;

to go abroad it 

(Cairo 20024) and to hear the jubilation of the inhabitants of the Thinite Nome as they watched it was a source of great joy for him. Many of the Middle-Kingdom stelae set up about the tomb of the god express this desire with earnestness and sincerity. ⁽²⁾ In the Abydian Procession, the King represented

by Wepwawet, who is identified with Horus, takes the lead, while

(1) Trans. Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 203-04. (Although Frankfort's translation was revised by J.A. Wilson, the present writer had to retranslate it after collating it with the Egyptian text). Schäfer, Die Mysterien des Osiris unter König Sesostris III, in Untersuchungen, IV. See also Kamal, M., Ann. Serv. XXXVIII, 274-75; Vandier, Religion, p. 177; Gardiner, ONΝΟΦΠΙΣ in Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis, Akademie - Verlag Berlin, 1950, II/2, p. 50; Sethe, Lesestücke, No. 14, p. 71, ll. 17-8 (Text).

(2) The number of stelae set up at Abydus which reflect the deceased's desire to rest at length near Osiris is a very large one, and one cannot attempt to list all of them. They generally contain a special version of funerary prayer usually called the "Abydus formula". Such are (to mention a few): The Stela of "Dedu", now in the Oriental Museum of the University of Durham, in Birth, S., Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle, No. 1932; stela of D33, B.M. 573; stele of Imn-m-h3t, B.M. 567 = JEA XIV, 240-41; Cairo (CCG) 20026, 20303, 20561, 20088, 20410, 20024, 20516; B.M. 2..

in the Mystery Play of the Succession the resurrection of Osiris is enacted by the King, as Horus, who embraces him in the guise of the kni-breastdress, thus transmitting his vital force, his Ka, to his father. Then the god ascends to heaven, his statue being buried, in both cases his resurrection being assured. (1) The rite is symbolical as well as actual, as it is performed by the next in succession to the Egyptian throne, Horus, who succeeded his dead father Osiris. The rites commemorating the death of Osiris were intended by their magical significance to bring about a happy issue, as were the rites associated with the threshing of corn - the grain that was threshed would sprout again in the New Year just as the king who was killed would also live again. (2) Both procession and rite were performed by the King or his deputy, but the procession was exclusively funereal, the acting of the interment of Osiris and his resurrection being intended to insure the continuance of Osiris' rule in his son Horus, the King. The recurrence of the Neshmet-boat incident, both in Ikhernofret's "Great

(1) Infra, p. 328.

(2) Infra, p. 292.

Procession" and on the private Abydian slabs which delineate the journey to the other world (whose entrance is traditionally said to have been in Abydus itself),⁽¹⁾ prove the mortuary nature of that incident beyond doubt. It is the picture of a memorable day, the Day of the Great Conflict, which happened long before the beginning of the Old Kingdom, the day when Osiris succumbed on the bank of Nedit. The deceased was, therefore, warned against drowning lest he should suffer the same fate as Osiris:

"Prevent that thou be drowned."⁽²⁾

In New-Kingdom and Ptolemaic temples, the Nedit tragedy was also enacted as a part of the rite of "Opening the Mouth." In the temple of Philae, the lector-priest recites some magic words in the third hour of the night to resurrect the dead god. His words convey the memory of the Great Conflict on the bank of Nedit:

"O Osiris In-Front-of-the-Westerners! Rise up,
raise thyself and stand up in Nedit."⁽³⁾

Since we are at present not so much concerned with the political

(1) Pyr. 796, 799.

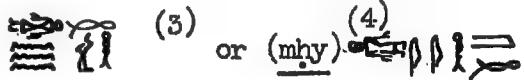
(2) CT. 70.

(3) Junker, Stundenwachen, p. 88; cf. Budge, Fetish, p. 506.

background of the Osiris legend as with its popular standing, we should regard Nedit not as a finality, but as the start of the dissemination of the god's body to its various resting-places in Egypt.

We have already noticed that at Abydus the god's tomb was the pkr-tree, (1) and that therefore Abydus became, at least since the Middle Kingdom, the Ka^cbah of the Egyptians, whose ambition it was to receive a good burial in the vicinity of Osiris' sepulchre, or at least to send their dead on a short pilgrimage there before burial at home. (2) It was the rock on which they laid their hopes for a blessed state in the future. Abydus was a city of the dead: Memphis, the most important of the other cities claiming to be the god's burial-place, was categorically different from Abydus in the sense that it was the city of the living built by Menes to be the heart of the whole land.

To return to the struggle between Osiris and Seth on the bank of Nedit, which resulted in Osiris' drowning, from which he took the name of the "Drowned One" (mhw) (3) or (mhy) (4)



(1) Cf. Vandier, op. cit., pp. 44, 177.

(2) Supra, p. 90.

(3) Wb. II, 122. 12.

(4) "I found the 'Drowned One' ("mhy") of the land in the first time on the northern bank of Busiris." Junker, op. cit., pp. 84, 86-7; cf. Edfou, I, 2II.

We find proof of this drowning in Pyr. 615 a - d:

- A. "Horus has corralled the gods for thee,
so that they cannot get away from thee,
from the place where thou hast gone (Sm)."
- B. Horus has counted the gods for thee,
so that they cannot get away from thee,
from the place where thou wast drowned."

The parallelism between the parts marked A and B is so clear that it makes us believe that both parts refer to Osiris' death in the waters. So again in Pyr. 24 c - d (=Pyr. 766):

- A. "Horus has made me assemble for thee the gods
from every place to which thou goest (Sm)."
- B. Horus has made me count (for) thee the
children of Horus even to the place
where thou wast drowned."

In the Metternich Stele Osiris is described as the one floating on the water, and as being protected by Isis against the vicious water-creatures:

"Osiris is on the water, the Eye of Horus is with him." (l. 38)

"He who is over the water appeareth in a healthy form.
If he who is over the water shall be approached
(or attacked) the Eye of Horus which weepeth shall
be approached." (l. 39)

"O ye who dwell in the waters, ye crocodiles and fish!

When Osiris journeyeth over you, permit ye him to go
to Busiris (for burial)" (l. 40)

"Get ye back, ye enemies! Lift ye not up your faces
against him who is in the water, (for) he is Osiris!" (l. 41)

When the crocodile appeareth to the swimming Osiris
the Eye of Horus is over him to turn your faces
upside down and to set you on your backs." (l. 42)

".... protected is he who is on the water." (l. 44; cf 45)⁽¹⁾

The "one who is on the water" is definitely Osiris, and each
of the creatures in it, and especially the crocodile, is an aquatic
form of Seth-Typhon. The latter has been given several names, one
of which is "He who liveth in the water (used in a derogatory sense)

 . In the drama acted at Edfu in Ptolemaic times, the
struggle between Horus and Seth is represented as taking place on
the Nile. In it Seth is disguised as a hippopotamus⁽²⁾ which Horus,
encouraged by his mother Isis and the harpooners on the river-bank,
strikes with his divine harpoon from his ship. Isis addresses him
thus:

"Courage, Horus! Do not flee before (lit. because of)
the water-dweller, do not fear the 'Dweller of the Water'!"⁽³⁾

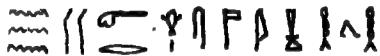
(1) Budge, Legends of the Gods, pp. 152-55.

(2) Cf. Wb. V, 489.

(3) Drioton, Le texte dramatique d'Edfou, Le caire, 1947, in
Ann. Serv. Cahier II, pp. 65, 89.

By her magic, Isis can save Osiris from the wrath of Seth.

In De Iside 358 A Isis is said to have placed the Osirian chest in the marshes of Buto on her return to Egypt. But in the light of the full-moon, Seth-Typhon, while hunting a pig,⁽¹⁾ chanced to see it there, whereupon he dismembered the god. In a boat of Papyrus, Isis searched for Osiris in the deep waters⁽²⁾



This later version of Osiris' death is almost similar to the early one of Nedit. Thus Osiris is said to have drowned in more than one place. What is equally significant at this juncture is the mention of crocodiles, the anti-Osirian beasts, which incarnated Seth, from which Isis, when afloat on the papyrus-boat, received no injury. "This is the reason," says Plutarch, "why people sailing in such boats are not harmed by the crocodiles, since these watery creatures⁽³⁾ in their own way show either their fear or their reverence for the goddess." Whether they feared her, (which Plutarch suggests and which is rather doubtful) or not, the magical power of the goddess over them is overwhelming. "If Isis exorcises," says the Harris Magical Papyrus (7, 8 ff), "then the crocodiles are

(1) Cf. Plut., De Iside 354 A.

(2) Rec. trav. XIV, 12, n. 2.

(3) Cf. the Egyptian ~~goddess~~ ~~goddess~~ ~~goddess~~ ~~goddess~~, Rec. trav. XIV, 17; Wb. I, 74, 2.

inactive." Boatmen fought them with sticks and magic spells from their papyrus-boats and in the water lest they should overturn them, and kill their cattle⁽¹⁾ (fig. 103). Isis recited an incantation against them during her search for Osiris. In a papyrus at the Louvre (No. 3237) Seth appears as the vile reptile  which is warned by the goddess not to face Osiris "who lieth in the middle of the earth, - otherwise in the middle of the deep waters." (ll. 7-8) Though texts do not often explicitly refer to Seth as the criminal, the authority of the Pyramid Texts on this matter is indisputable (Cf. Pyr. 1263). Late traditions, however, allege that it was Seth who had committed the crime. For instance a magical text says, "Like that he did to Osiris formerly, when he made him drown in the water." (ll. 6-7)⁽²⁾

The rôle of Horus as the deliverer of his father (Hr nd 3t.f., Ἄριδώτης) is not confined to land, but also extends to the waters of the Nile. By this we do not mean the conventional combats between him and Seth for the throne of Egypt, as learned from P. Sallier IV, P. Beatty I, and the temple of Horus at Edfu,⁽³⁾ but his deliverance

(1) Suys, E., Étude sur le conte du fellah plaideur, pp. 140 ff.

(2) Chass., Les papyrus magiques 3237 et 3239 du louvre, in Rec. trav. XIV, 10-17; cf. Sethe, Dram. Texte, p. 38.

(3) Horus and Seth quarrelled after Osiris' death for the crown of Egypt, each claiming that he was the right heir to the throne. But when Isis learnt that Rē was and would be partial to Seth,

of his father's mutilated body from the water. In performing this heroic part he assumes the shape of a crocodile, while Isis protects him with her spells from other aggressive crocodiles. The probable explanation of Plutarch's statement is that crocodiles never attacked the papyrus-boat because Horus as a crocodile was swimming beside it

= she threatened that she would raise the case to the court of Atum at Heliopolis. The god there sympathised with her, but Seth threatened that if they decided for her, he would kill them all and that he would not attend the assize if Isis was there. So $\text{R}^{\text{e}}\text{C}$ ordered the divine court to be moved to an island and the ferryman not to allow any woman to cross over there. Isis, by her magic, was able to change herself into an old woman, and bribed the ferryman to ferry her to the island. There, again, she changed herself into a girl so beautiful that Seth could not resist the temptation of courting her. She told him the case of a poor herdsboy (Horus) and his unjust uncle (Seth), and asked him to decide on it if he were an unbiased judge. His decision was that Horus was the right heir to his father's property. Then she scolded him and disclosed the truth. He was shocked when he realised that he had been duped by her. When he told the gods of this, $\text{R}^{\text{e}}\text{C}$ and Atum announced that Horus, and not Seth, had the right to his father's crown. So Seth suggested that the crown should be thrown into the river and that he who would first reach it would have it. Seth and Horus thereupon transformed themselves into hippopotamuses, and sought the crown in the water. Isis then stabbed Seth with her harpoon and captured him. But she took compassion on her brother and set him free. In his indignation Horus cut off her head. Thoth, according to P. Sallier I V, 2, 6-3, 5 (=Kees, Aegypten, p. 35) and Plutarch, De Iside 358 D, provided her with a cow's head (and so she took the form of Isis-Hathōr fig.104).

P. Chester Beatty I, Pls. 1-16 = Gardiner, Contendings, pp. 13-26; cf. Mercer, op. cit., pp. 34-5.

Another legend, however, tells that it was Anubis "the lord of herds and the chief of herdsmen" that gave the decapitated goddess a cow's head, probably on account of his canine shape and his accompanying of herds. Blackman-Fairman, JEA XXXVI, 65.

carrying his father. (1) On Khoiak 16 (December 12) at the feast called "the Feast of Osiris, 'In-Front-of-the-Westerners", a priest impersonating Horus gives Isis a silver vase full of the substance which is to be used for moulding Osiris' statue (referred to indifferently as Sokar or as Osiris), whose limbs are to be fitted together, He addresses her thus:

"I am Horus; I come to thee, O powerful goddess!

I bring to thee (parts of the body) of my father."

In the guise of a crocodile Horus looked for his father's body in the water, and, having put the limbs and trunk together, resurrected him. (2) In the temple of Philae (Hadrian Door - South Wall) (fig. 105) there is a scene which illustrates the death and resurrection of Osiris. In it a crocodile is seen swimming in the marshes in a papyrus-thicket, carrying a mummy on its back. The crocodile is Horus and the mummy is Osiris. Isis is standing on the land near the marshes and the crocodile appears standing by her side. Osiris also appears in it sitting on a throne in the horizon as a dead king. Before him is a squatting child, a form of the youthful Osiris. In the sky above him the New Moon (right) and the Full Moon (left) are shining. Osiris is the moon, and his resurrection as a young child

(1) Junker, Götterdekret, p. 43.

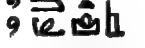
(2) Mar., Dend., IV, 37, l. 90.

and his growth into a perfect being are here alluded to by the
phases of the moon. (1)

(1) Junker, op. cit., pp. 41 ff.; cf. Supra, p.249.

CHAPTER XV

OSIRIS' PROPITIOUS DROWNING

In the marshy land Phww  about Baltim near the Borollos, there was a spot called "the Hole of the Place of the Chest"  , the locality of ancient Baltim  , the sacred name being  . There the chest of Osiris was thought to have sunk and the god to have drowned, and a temple was, therefore, erected for him.. Accordingly Osiris was said to have dwelt there and been drowned in the marshes. Isis, it was said, delivered him, and Nephthys healed his limbs,   helped by both Horus and Anubis who also lived there. (1)

Another tradition does not, however, locate the god's drowning at a place in the Delta region, but rather at Atfih in the last Upper Egyptian nome and not, as Erman presumes, in Lower Egypt. (2) Isis laments Osiris in one of her songs saying, "O joy! Thou art protected, O thou who wast drowned in the nome of Aphroditopolis." (3)

Though the conception of Osiris' burial at Memphis is extant in Plutarch, De Iside 359 B, it may, nevertheless, be traced back

(1) Daressy, La porte de Baltim, in Ann. Serv. XVII, 276-78; see also Ahmad Kamal Bey, Borollos  in Ann. Serv. IX, 141-47; cf. the drowning of Osiris in the north of the Delta, Sethe, Dram. Texte, 1. 25 h.

(2) Erman, Festgesängen der Isis und Nephthys, 6, 2, 14, 28; cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 39.

(3) P. Bremmer-Rhind, 11. 6, 2; cf. 1. 14, 28, trans. Faulkner in JEA XXII, 125; cf. Sethe, op. cit., 1. 25 h.

to the Old Kingdom through the "Shabako Stone", formerly in the temple of Memphis. According to this the event happened neither at Nedit nor in the north of Busiris, but in the most northerly Upper Egyptian nome of Aphroditopolis. It is mentioned in a very old drama, which used to be acted after the death of a king and before the official succession of his heir, to commemorate at the same time the death of Osiris in the water and the accession of his son Horus to the throne. It is at once royal and mythological, worldly and eschatological, socio-political and cosmo-magical, acted for the good of the gods and the people of the land. (1) The newly-founded capital of the united kingdom of Egypt was the burying-
(2) place of Osiris. Gēb, as an arbitrator between Seth and Horus, allotted Upper Egypt to the former and Lower Egypt to the latter "at the place where his father had been drowned." 
The drowning of Osiris and his burial at Memphis is related in some detail in this document:

"It is this land (i.e. Memphis) (where) of Osiris
in the House of Sokar Nephthys and Isis
without delay, as Osiris had been drowned in his
water, so that (or, whilst) Isis (and Nephthys) saw

(1) Blackman in Myth and Ritual, pp. 26-7.

(2) Sethe, op. cit., l. 25.

it. (They saw him and were frightened about him.

Then Horus immediately ordered Isis and Nephthys to
seize Osiris) that they (might prevent) him drowning."⁽¹⁾

We have already indicated how the Nile-inundation or "the
new water" (mw rnsw) ⁽²⁾ came from Osiris' body buried in the
sources of the river at Elephantine. We have also demonstrated
with the help of religious texts and funerary representations that
he is the water itself, his name being "the new water" or the
inundation.⁽³⁾ In other words, his is the Nile-water whose
fertilizing power is unquestionable. But we have to point out that
the Nile owes this property to Osiris himself. It is the water of
life which Osiris lost and which he needed to regain in order to
recover life.

In a similar way the fruitful earth, in order to overcome
aridity and eventual death, has to obtain the water of life which
issues, in the Egyptian's view, from the god's corpse. Thus the
god's corpse itself is capable of fertilizing land to make it
produce vegetation,⁽⁴⁾ this being manifested in such places as

(1) Sethe, Dram. Texte, II. 16-9, pp. 37-9, 72; cf. Erman, Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie, pp. 933-34, 943.

(2) Pyr. 575-82, 589 a; Breasted, Development, p. 30. Supra, pp. 33 ff.

(3) Pyr. 25, 589, 767.

(4) Erman, op. cit., p. 934.

Philae and Abydus as trees shading his tomb and at Memphis and Heliopolis as corn. Hence the close affinity between the water of the god and the greenness of Nature. In the Memphite Theology, Osiris is the beneficent god and blessed martyr who died in order to provide nourishment for the other gods and his people. (1)

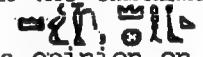
(1) In Greek times Osiris was called "the One carried by the River" *παταρμόφορος* - Greek Magical Papyrus Paris, I. 875-76; - in Demotic the "Hesies" *Ἑσίης* (hsy) or "the Divine Drowned One" (hsy ntr) - Paris Papyrus, I. 875-76; and the "Noble Drowned (One) among the Drowned" - (hsy nfr n n hsyw) - Demotic Magical Papyrus, XV, 12, X, 7, IX, 23; (Coptic ፳፳፭፭ "a drowned person" - Crum, A Copt. Dict. p.710). From the fifth century B.C. we know of the practice of praising (hs³) a drowned person because his prototype was Osiris who had been drowned by Seth in the Nile. Although in olden times drowning, like burning, was practised as a punishment for such serious offences as blasphemy, treachery and adultery (Bk Dead 39, I. 2; Todt. 72, I. 1 ff.; Urk., V, 41 ff.; Blackman, Righteousness, p. 798), and so looked down upon as the meanest form of death, in late times a drowned person was considered as a martyr or a "Seliger". (See Herodot., II, 90; cf. Pliny, Nat. Hist., VII, 92-94; Kees, 'Apotheosis By Drowning', in Studies Presented to L.F. Griffith, 1932, pp. 402 ff.

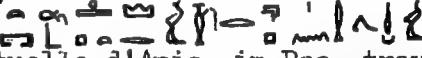
In the Roman period we hear of the drowning of Hadrian's beloved boy, Antinous in 130 A.D. on his journey with him up the Nile (The Oxford Classical Dictionary, p. 59; Erman, Die Religion der Aegypter, p. 423). The grieving Emperor built him a temple in a town called after him, and the priests deified him. (Hopfner, op. cit., I, pp. 40-41; also cf. the incident of the drowning of the eldest son of Malcander and the great honours conferred on him by Isis, who founded the city of Pelusium for him, in Plut., De Iside 357 D-F, 353 F).

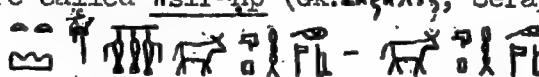
The parallel saying that "He who dies by drowning, dies as a martyr" *من مات غرقاً مات شهيداً* is extant in Islamic traditions. (El-Amīr, M., The Cult of "Hryw" at Thebes in the Ptolemaic Period, in JEA XXXVII, 81-5. This is an independent statement from *من مات غرقاً مات شهيداً* quoted by this writer, so it has a better claim to an Osirian parallel than if both had formed a single saying as El-Amīr writes them).

Even though Ptah, the Memphite god, was held in the Capital

= According to classical writers, too, the Bull Apis (fig. 106) suffered the same doom as Osiris, i.e. he was drowned, when he had reached a certain age. "It is not lawful for it", says Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 184-LCL) to exceed a certain number of years of life, and they kill it by drowning it in the fountain of the priests." Non est fas eum certos vitae excedere annos, mersumque in sacerdotum fonte necat. (Moret, *La mise à mort du dieu*, pp. 44-6).

The source of this idea is thus late, but in Chassinat's opinion, goes back at the most to the New Kingdom. His view is that just as Osiris was drowned in the Nile and buried in the sources called by the Egyptians kbhw, so Apis was drowned in the pool attached to his temple at Memphis (fig. 107) before he was embalmed in the embalmer's workshop Wbt. That pool was called kbhw  after the sources of the Nile. He bases his opinion on a text from the XIXth Dynasty:


(Chassinat, *La mise à mort rituelle d'Apis*, in *Rec. trav.* XXXVIII, 54). That the Egyptians drowned Apis alive seems doubtful. The procession of the Bull to the sacred lake of his temple very likely refers to the process of washing him, when he had died in the natural course before embalmment and burial. It would be very difficult for the people who greatly venerated Apis (fig. 108) to find a new bull with the same rare physical traits (fig. 109) to replace the dead one. Besides, the death of Apis was really a national catastrophe, and caused deep mourning. The thing which is certain about this event is that Apis was identified with Osiris after his death and therefore called Wsir-Hp (Gk. εργαστής, Serapis)

 He was also the "Spirit of Osiris". (cf. οὐκών ικνυχος - ἐμπορρός εἰκών της Οσίριδος γυγγίς in Plut., *De Iside* 368 C, cf. 359 B, 362 D; Diodorus I, 85).

If the Egyptians ever drowned Apis in the water of kbhw (the sources?) and then buried him in Memphis, they might have in mind Osiris' fate at Nedit and Memphis, and would hope to endow the land with fertility by burying the dead god there. (Cf. Infra, p. 388).

as the King of the Universe in general, and Memphis in particular, Osiris overrode him. Memphis, was, for political reasons, the fulcrum of the country - the centre from which a metropolis could best govern the two different halves of Egypt which met there - and had for that reason acquired the epithets of "The Great Throne", "The Balance of the Two Lands" and "The Life of the Two Lands". Using this fact, the Memphite Theologians, as reflected in the Shabako Text, used this latter name to support their own theories. According to them the name "Life of the Two Lands" was due to the fact that Memphis was the Granary of the god Ptah-Tatenen which provisioned the whole country, and that its fertility was due to the presence there of Osiris' corpse. The following passage is a good indication that Osiris' intrusion in, and influence on, the Memphite Theology are no less prominent here than in the Heliopolitan religion:

"And thus assembled for him (Ptah) all the gods and their "Kas". Htpy Hnmy (Ptah) was the lord of the Two Lands. The granary of the god (Ptah-T3tnn), however, was the Great Throne, which rejoiceth the heart(s) of the gods who are in the House of Ptah (Memphis), the lady of all(?) life, (and) from which the life (i.e. sustenance) of the Two Lands is provided."⁽¹⁾

(1) Sethe, Dram. Texte I, l. 61, pp. 70-72; Erman, op. cit., pp. 942-43.

The reason for this, says the text, is that Osiris was drowned
(1)  When
there in his water. he died he was buried in Memphis, became a member of Rē^c's
retinue and followed the sun-god on his diurnal journey, shining
with him in the celestial firmament.

"And thus they brought him to land. He entered
the secret doors in the splendour of the Lords
of Eternity in the strides of him who shines
forth in the horizon on the ways of Rē^c in the
Great Throne (i.e. Memphis) And Osiris entered
into the earth in the Royal Castle on the north
side of this land which he had reached." (2)

Just as the Memphite Theology explained Osiris' burial in
her land as the reason why Memphis was called the "Life of the
Two Lands", the "Granary of the God", the "Great Throne", and the

(1) Ibid., l. 62. Scharff, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

(2) Ibid., l. 63-4; Erman, op. cit., CV, CW, p. 945.
The solar rôle played by Osiris is doubtless due
to the fusion of his cult with that of Rē^c since
at least the Pyramid times. The following late
text almost puts him on equal footing with Rē^c:
"O Osiris N.! Thou risest like unto
Rē^c of the sky and all the gods glorify
thy Ka. The gods and goddesses praise
thy countenance. They recognise their
god in thee, when thou risest like Rē^c
before them."

Sander-Hansen, op. cit., p. 119 (cf. p. 25); cf.
p. 120; cf. also Pyr. 152, 154, 156, 158.

"Lady of All Life",⁽¹⁾ so Thebes was described as being "at the head of the territories of the Egyptians, because he who begot them is in her soil. A limb is in her in all the places"⁽²⁾ This passage occurs after a brief description of the Nile-inundation and its good effects on the whole land. The expected result at both places was a prolific harvest. This is evident in the case of Memphis, for the text is complete, and no doubt the partially lost Theban text also said something of this kind, as is confirmed by the word npri³ ~~ss~~⁴, still extant there.⁽³⁾

The information which one draws from the study of the Ceremony of "Driving the Calves" (Hwt Bhsw) reveals Heliopolis as another site of Osiris' tomb and as Egypt's granary as well.⁽⁴⁾

From our study of Osiris' fertility immanent in Nature and the sprouting of vegetation from the earth,⁽⁵⁾ one may ask whether or not Osiris was an earth-god besides being a fertilizing power. In other words, did Osiris represent the fertile land itself?

(1) Sethe, op. cit., l. 61, pp. 70-71.

(2) Quoted before, p. 88.

(3) Drioton in Ann. Serv. XLIV, 147-53.

(4) Infra, pp. 332 ff.

(5) Cf. also Bruyère, B., Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-5), 3^{ème} partie, Le caire, 1939, p. 186.

As to the arid land, Osiris has nothing to do with it; it has been assigned to his brother Seth.⁽¹⁾ If Osiris is an earth-god, he will naturally be associated with vegetation for the nourishment of the people and animals, with water which he supplies them to drink, and possibly with the air which he gives them to breathe. In this manner Osiris will embrace the three main cosmic elements of water,⁽²⁾ earth and air, and will, therefore, share them with their respective deities, namely, Hā^cpy, Gēb and Shu.

We have noticed that water and earth are frequently mentioned together, whenever there is a question of vegetation; water containing the fertility which the earth badly needs, their vital union naturally resulting in the appearance of plants, constantly referred to as the god's symbol of resurrection. In a hymn on an ostracon from the time of Ramesses IX, he is addressed as "the lord of earth" . He gives men and Nature water to drink:

"When thou bestirst, the earth trembleth For thee (the Nile) cometh forth from the sweat of thy hands;"⁽³⁾ and air to breathe:

(1) P. Sallier, IV 9, 4-6; Kees, Götterglaube, pp. 237, 258, 410 ff.; Wainwright, Sky-religion, p. 13; Mercer, op. cit., pp. 49 ff.; Plut., De Iside 364 A-B, 372 A.

(2) Cf. Pyr. 507, 589, 2063; Hymn to Osiris by Ramesses IV in ZAS XXII, 38; Junker, Götterdekret, p. 36; Plut., De Iside 363 D - 366 C; Supra, p. 6.

(3) Cf. Junker, Götterdekret, p. 38.

"Thou spewest out the wind that is in thy throat
into the nostrils of men."

His back is moreover the earth that carries everything:

"When canals are dug,.... houses and temples are
built, when monuments are transported and fields
are cultivated, when tomb-chapels and tombs are
excavated, they rest on thee, it is thou who makest
them. They are on thy back, although they are more
than can be put into writing. (Thy) back hath not
an empty place, for they all lie on thy back; but
(thou sayest) not, 'I am weighed down.'"

His beneficence was parental:

"Thou art the father and mother of men, they live
on thy breath, they eat of the flesh of thy body."

Finally he was a creator-god:

"The Primeval' is thy name."⁽¹⁾

This title of 'Primeval' was also given to Osiris in the
Middle Kingdom. But this does not mean that he was not so
in the Old Kingdom. His membership of the Heliopolitan Ennead
raised him up to a cosmic level.⁽²⁾

(1) Erman, Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräben, in ZAS XXXVIII, 31 f.; Breasted, Development, pp. 21-2.

(2) Supra, p. 43. Scharff, op. cit., pp. 17 ff.

That Osiris often appears inseparably as a water, earth and vegetation god is evident from the following passage:

"Primordial god of the Two Lands united, food and sustenance in front of the divine Ennead. Nun hath extracted for him his water;; the sky giveth birth to the air for thy nose Plants grow according to thy desire. The earth giveth birth to food."⁽¹⁾

It is also said of him, "The waters of life which are in the sky, the waters of life which are in the earth come. The sky burns for thee, the earth trembles for thee, before the birth of the god."⁽²⁾ Osiris, moreover, is the creator of both the sky and the earth, a prerogative of the sun-god taken over by Osiris afterwards:

"Thou art unique, thou art the Being par excellence, who existed before any existence, who created the sky, who created the earth, who giveth nurture to every person, as the earth liveth on what thou hast created."⁽³⁾

(1) Stèle du Louvre C 286, ll. 4-5 = Bull. Inst. fr. XXX, 733.

(2) Pyr. 2063; cf. Moret, Le Nil, p. 95.

(3) Ptahmes Stèle No. 88, Musée de Lyon. l. 4 = Bull. Inst. fr. XXX 503-04.

In the Khoiak-festival he was spoken of as a dead king and a cosmic deity. He is "(Osiris lord of Busiris) In-Front-of-the-Westerners, the great god, lord of Abydus, lord of the sky, of earth, of the Netherworld, of water, of mountains and all that the solar disc encircles."⁽¹⁾

Osiris' general title of "Lord of the Earth" does not mean that he was from the very beginning the earth-god, for the earth had its own god, namely Gēb. Yet Osiris in his twofold personality as deity of earth and water could attach the earth and its life to himself as a cosmic creator-god, while as a sovereign deity he was the donor of fertility to the earth, his place of interment. In the Ptolemaic temple of Dakkeh, he is described as "King of the gods, whose Bai carrieth the sky, and whose images carry the earth."⁽²⁾ His dwelling as a dead king is the Underworld, which lies under the surface of the earth and which he surrounds (fig. 110), upholding the earth from there.

Hence his relation to the earth seems to be partly as a god

(1) Loret, Les fêtes d'Osiris au mois du Khoiak, in Rec. trav. III, 55-6.

(2) Roeder, Der Tempel von Dakke, Le caire, 1930, pp. 109-10.

at the cosmic level, partly as a fertility-deity. As to the latter aspect, his interment in the earth, as with his inherence in water, endows it with a new vitality. He was not originally the fertility-deity of the earth. Fertility had its own deity, namely Min. However, Osiris had to play this rôle on occasions, just as he simulated the duties of ^cHa^{py} and Gēb, the water and earth gods respectively. At this point, an exposition of the main harvest ceremonies is desirable to see to what extent they have been Osirianized.

We should first establish the relationship between this god and corn, and answer such questions as: Was he originally a corn-god? Was he the creator of corn or was he just immanent in it?

We have shown in places how Osiris' rôle, creative as well as natural, became prominent with the advance of time, particularly in the Saite and Ptolemaic periods. This is also true of Osiris in his relation to corn. Dating from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, a text on the sarcophagus of the daughter of Psammetichus II adds further point to the observation that the body of Osiris was important in agricultural and aquatic connexions.

".... thou lord of the corn in order to sustain the lands. The inundation floweth as it issueth from thy limbs"(1)

(1) Sander-Hansen, op. cit., p. 102.

Another passage from Philae also names Osiris the source of inundation and corn, and stresses his auspicious nature:

"Osiris Onnōphris, justified; the great Nile who createth corn with the liquid that is in him, to sustain the gods and the patricians, who made oblations (htpw) to the gods and invocation-offerings to the Glorified (3hw)."⁽¹⁾

The idea that Osiris is the creator of corn was common and almost stereotyped in late and Ptolemaic times. For instance at Denderah the god is praised in practically the same manner as in the above-mentioned text from Philae:

"Osiris, Onnōphris, justified, the great god who dwelleth in Denderah, lord of Busiris, ruler of Abydus; who hath made the corn from the liquid that is in him to sustain the patricians; ruler and lord of food-offerings, sovereign and lord of victuals, who giveth life to him that is loyal to him."⁽²⁾

The same attributes are seen on the sarcophagus of ^cAnkhnesneferibre^c as follows:

"Greetings! Thou art Osiris, the falcon on

(1) Junker, Götterdekret, p. 38; cf. Chass., Dend. ll. 160 ll.

(2) Chass., op. cit., p. 161, ll. 15-17.

earth, the falcon of electrum in the sky.

Greetings! Thou art he who hath made corn
in order to sustain the gods with the liquid
of his limbs, and food for every land with
the liquid which existeth under him."⁽¹⁾

In the Chester Beatty Papyrus No. I (XXth Dynasty), when
the Ennead consults Osiris about the Horus-Seth dispute, Osiris
intimates that it is he who first created corn to feed the gods
and people.

"Wherefore shall my son be defrauded, seeing
that it is I who make you strong, and it is
I who made barley and spelt to nourish the
gods and the living creatures likewise after
the gods, whereas no (other) god found himself
(able) to do it, nor any goddess."⁽²⁾

"Making" in this context is to be read as "creating".

Classical writers such as Diodorus (I, 14-20), Tibullus,⁽³⁾

(1) Sander-Hansen, op. cit., p. 99-100.

(2) Gardiner, The Chester Beatty Papyrus No. I, Pl. 14, 11 f.,
pp. 24 ff.

(3) Albius Tibullus (48?-19 B.C.) is a Roman elegaic poet, who
wrote about love and happy country life. In one of his
elegies he refers to Osiris as the Nile - and vegetation-god:
"It was Osiris' cunning hand that first made
ploughs and vexed the young earth with the
iron share. He first entrusted seed to the
untried earth, and gathered fruits from
unknown trees."

and Plutarch⁽¹⁾ assert that Osiris spread corn and taught the people of the world how to cultivate it.⁽²⁾ In this manner he delivered them from cannibalism. The Egyptians recognised that civilisation was first founded on agriculture, and that Osiris was, as it were, the "First Farmer."

Yet we maintain that the sun-god, who created the Universe, nourished it, and who saw that peace and righteousness were established, was the first "maker" or creator of corn: this being one of the essential cares of a creator-god:

"Thou unique Fashioner and Maker of the Universe,
Sole and Only,

Maker of herbs, nourishing the cattle,
And of the Tree of Life for the sun-folk"⁽³⁾

= "primus aratra manu sollerti fecit Osiris
et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum,
primus inexpertae commisit semina terrae
pomaque non notis legit ab arboribus."
(Tibullus I, VII, 29-32)

- (1) De Iside 356 A-B; cf. 379 A.
- (2) The discovery of corn attributed to Isis seems to come mainly from classical sources. In one of the Greek hymns the goddess says of herself, "It is I who first discovered corn for men." Peek, W., Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte, Berlin, 1930, p. 126, l. 5; cf. p. 122, l. 7. Also cf. Diodorus I, 14.
- (3) Cairo Hymns VI, 2-4.

And

"Hail to thee,

Lord of Truth and Father of the gods;

Maker of Man and Creator of flocks;

Lord of the corn (nb npri)."⁽¹⁾

One should note that the three vital elements of water, air and corn (vegetation), occur together, in the case of Rēc as well as of Osiris, in hymns to them as creator-gods. It is said of Amen-Rēc that he discharges the Nile from his body, gives his creations air to breathe, and supplies them with sustenance, mainly corn:

"The inundation cometh forth from the source beneath his sandals His body is Nun: that which is in it is inundation He bloweth breath into every nose His wife is I3bt (the fertile land), he makes her pregnant: his seed is the Tree of Life, his effluence is corn"⁽²⁾

But Osiris always remains the corn-spirit for which the Nile-water is indispensable, since the latter nourishes both the corn and

(1) Cairo Hymns VIII, 1-3 = Leiden Hymn to Amün V, 24-5; Zandee, De hymnen aan Amon, p. 144 f.

(2) P. Leyden I, 350, ll. V, 21-25 = Gardiner in ZAS XLII, 38-9.

the spirit. This close relation between water and the god's spirit through the medium of corn struck the imagination of the Egyptians, who expressed it in late times on the walls of their temples. In the temple of Denderah the Nile-god Ha^cpy is represented standing while water pours from his pendant breast and from the mouth of a frog (a watery, primordial creature) in his left hand, into a vase containing grain, which has just sprouted. The sprouting of the corn is due of course to the fertilizing property of the water of the Nile-sources. At the same time it symbolises the restoration of life to the dead god, which is pictorially represented by his Ba-bird spirit perching on the corn-ears (fig.111).⁽¹⁾ The same theme is represented at Philae. There Isis, in the guise of Hath^{ör}, pours a libation for the god's spirit, as the priest does in fig.112. This libation is poured into water, from which ears of corn likewise shoot forth. The Bai of the god is seen standing again on the tips of the corn (fig.113).⁽²⁾

It is then the sun-god who first created corn and created Osiris with it. The deceased says, "I am he whom Atum made

(1) Rosellini, I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, Vol. III, Pl. 25; cf. 27, 2.

(2) Cf. Mar., Dend. IV, Pl. 58 (p. 283) in which Isis and Nephthys appear sitting on Osiris' bier. On the bier, too, are two vases containing corn, the germination of which the two sisters are watching eagerly. In other words they are waiting for the resurrection of their brother, the corn-spirit.

with Npri,⁽¹⁾ when he made me descend to the earth, on the Island of Nsrsr, when my name of Osiris, son of Geb had come to be."⁽²⁾ The creation of Osiris and the corn-god Nepri by Atum is of particular significance, as it is an old notion that not only places Osiris under Atum, but also deprives him of his cosmic attributes by lowering him from the level of a primal creator-god like that of Atum down to that of a human deceased. He will live and die in the same way as corn, but both of them will finally share resuscitation.

Nothing is more symbolic of the story of human life and death than the sprouting and fading of corn. On corn and Osiris people relied both for their worldly nourishment and their future life. Hence the relation between Osiris and corn is a relation of life and death, in the sense that when corn grows, Osiris lives, and when it withers, he dies. This concept had perhaps became so strongly entrenched in the minds of the Egyptians that it led such classical authors as Herodotus, Diodorus and Plutarch to enlarge upon it, and thereby to ascribe to him the beneficent mission of teaching the people to cultivate corn and make bread

(1) Cf. Pyr. 1065.

(2) CT 80, l. 40 f-h.

instead of remaining cannibals all of which characterises the human connexions of this great god. In the Book of the Gates (VIIth Division) one reads the following text on the common life of Osiris and Corn:

"If corn grows, then Osiris N. exists."⁽¹⁾

Osiris and Nepri live also after death. A Middle-Kingdom Coffin Text reads thus:

"Nepri lives after death."⁽²⁾

From this it seems that Osiris was identified with corn at least from the Middle Kingdom, and that such identification became much more evident from the New Kingdom onwards. In the papyrus of Her-Weben  (XXIst Dynasty) Osiris' infernal kingdom appears side by side with Rē's celestial domain with no expression whatsoever of the old animosity recurrent in the Pyramid Texts. The deceased lady in her litany reconciles the two gods and harmonises the two worlds, and at the same time recognises Osiris' attribute of corn as useful for both of them:

"I have come towards the gods who are in heaven,
towards those of the Netherworld, who are in the
earth, towards those who are sleeping, who are

(1) Sander-Hansen, op. cit., p. 109.

(2) CT 101, l. 100.

in the Netherworld, towards those who are slumbering, who are in the hummock (13t).... that they cause her 3h-spirit to ascend into the heavens like the Bai of Re^c, and her body to descend to the Netherworld like the Bai of him who united with Osiris. May they give her offerings that her Bai may enter into the sky, that she may come out of the Netherworld, that she may make all the transformations she desires, that she may be the living spirit of Osiris, lord of the life of the Two Lands, who is the corn of the gods — (1)

We have mentioned in passing how the Egyptians looked on the god as the water necessary for their lives, and how they identified him with it, so that instead of saying that they drank water, they said that they drank Osiris. (2) There is something analogous to this in Plutarch's reference to the priests drawing some water from the river when the Nile-inundation came and the people on the bank shouting that they had found Osiris. (2)

(1) P. Cairo P. 133 = Piankoff, Les deux papyrus "mythologiques" de Her-Ouben au Musée du Caire, in Ann. Serv. XLIX, 133, Pl. 3.

(2) Supra, p. II.

(3) Plut., De Iside 366 F.

As far as vegetation is concerned, Plutarch criticises the Egyptians for lamenting the disappearance of the crops, and for rejoicing as they sprouted again, thus regarding them as gods dying only to come back to life in the future.⁽¹⁾ By doing so, he is copying old writers, whose words are reiterated after Plutarch's day by Julius Firmicus Maternus. This Christian writer says, "Osiris, they say, is nothing but the grain, Isis the earth and Typhon the heat. As the harvests, ripened by the heat, are harvested to serve as nourishment for men, and as they are detached and separated from their union with the earth, and as with the coming of winter they are sown anew, they assure that the death of Osiris occurs as the crops are housed; likewise the discovery of his limbs on the annual return of the grain to life takes place with the germination of the fertilized earth which envelops and warms it."⁽²⁾ Then he blames the Egyptians for considering them as deities. "If they are gods, whom you worship," he says, "then why do you weep for them? Why do you consecrate gloomy ceremonies every year? And if they deserve mourning, why do you pile divine honours on their heads? Do, then, one of two

(1) Ibid., 379 A-C.

(2) De errore II, 6, op. cit., pp. 44-5.

things: Either do not weep for them, if they be gods, or, if you believe that they be worthy of weeping and distress, do not call them gods any more, so that the majesty of the divine name may not be blemished by your lamentations and tears."⁽¹⁾

The interment of Osiris, though a natural stimulus to gloominess and sadness, never aroused such profound melancholy in the hearts of his people, as Plutarch presumes. In the rite of "Opening the Mouth", the "Mystery Play of the Succession", the "Great Procession" of Abydus, the festival of "Raising the Djed-pillar" and the ceremony of "Driving the Calves" the burial and resurrection of Osiris are always celebrated. Thus symbolically the death of man and Nature is overcome by magic which prevents their utter destruction. It expresses the unimpassioned movement of life, individual and social alike, which is thus imperturbable. For the burial of Osiris in the earth gives hope of resurrection, and the Egyptians were optimistic about Nature owing to the regularity of her cyclical changes. This is unmatched in other lands, including Greece herself.⁽²⁾ In the Ceremony of "Driving

(1) Ibid., VIII, 4; cf. II, 7, pp. 64-5; cf. also Adonis, Ibid., IX, I. In fact, Xenophanes, in whom both Plutarch and Firmicus Maternus found their sources had quoted Homer and Hesiod before him. See Diels, H. Vorsokratiker, I, pp. 59-60; Gomperz, Th., Les penseurs de la Grèce, Paris, 1904, p. 170; Pinard de la Boullaye, L'étude comparée des religions, I pp. 15-6.

(2) See Plutarch's illusory description of Egypt's physical conditions in De Iside 366 C-F; cf. Parthey, G., op. cit., pp. 234-35; Frankfort, Kingship, p. 391, n. 39; Parker, Calendars, pp. 31-2.

the Calves" the late king (Osiris) is buried as grain and delivered from his enemy by his son, the living king (Horus). The latter is eventually promised a plentiful harvest in the new year to sustain his people and multiply his cattle. It goes without saying that the Egyptians lamented their dead quite sincerely, and suffered in mourning for them much harrowing mental turmoil as well as self-inflicted physical pain. Their example was Isis, who was bereft of a beloved husband and a loving brother.⁽¹⁾ Yet the dolorous demeanour ascribed by Plutarch to the Egyptians, because of their uncertainty about the re-appearance of the grain which they sowed,⁽²⁾ is a mere fancy, since the Egyptian sources are silent on this sombre side of Egyptian life. For he is attributing Greek thoughts to the Egyptian Nilotic mind. "It is impossible," he says,⁽³⁾ "to conceive of these things as being gods in themselves; for God is not senseless nor inanimate nor subject to human control."⁽⁴⁾

In denouncing the Egyptians' habit of making gods of inanimate things,⁽⁵⁾ Plutarch betrays the non-Egyptian trend of

(1) Cf. Pyr. 1005-06, 1255-56, 1280-82, 1974, and figs. 114, 115, 116.

(2) De Iside 379 A.

(3) Ibid., 377 F.

(4) Cf. Oaksmith, J., The Religion of Plutarch, London, 1902, p. 199.

(5) De Iside 377 D-F.

his mind. In his own philosophy, which De Iside embodies, he recommends the use of reason (Ibid., 351 C - 352 C) to understand religion and mythology, and to attain the truth about God. In his empirical teachings he aspires to guide people to live a happy and (1) virtuous life, upholding monotheism and repudiating polytheism. He appreciates the existence of faith in a number of gods among different nations, but believes that they are all ancillary powers of God in Nature having different names. In other words they are demons, good as well as evil. The good demons act as mediators between God and men, while the evil ones cause disorder and destruction. The worship of good demons such as Isis and Osiris leads, in his view to the knowledge of God. (2) If the nature of this multitude of gods is misunderstood, people are likely to fall victims of superstition or atheism. (3) He therefore warns against these two enemies, and recommends the use of reason and the study of philosophy that "we may not err (either) by accepting in a different spirit the things that the laws have dictated admirably concerning the sacrifices and festivals." (4)

Briefly, he attributes to the Egyptians Greek reasoning and interpretations, from which he deduces, oddly enough, that "the fact

(1) Oaksmith, op. cit., pp. 89, 96.

(2) De Iside 360 D - 361 E; cf. Oaksmith, op. cit., pp. 120-37, 198, 200.

(3) Plut., De Iside 377 F - 378 B; De Superstitione, passim; cf. Oaksmith, op. cit., pp. 41, 64-70, 85.

(4) De Iside 378 A-B.

that everything is to be referred to reason we may gather from the Egyptians themselves." He then gives examples to support his opinion, one of which is that "Harpocrates is not to be regarded as an imperfect and an infant god, nor some deity or other that protects leguminous plants, but as the representative and corrector of unseasoned, imperfect, and inarticulate reasoning about the gods among mankind. For this reason he keeps his finger on his lips in token of restrained speech or silence.⁽¹⁾ But as the importance of this god's parents grew greater and greater in Greek times, and their worship spread more widely abroad, the idea came to be invested with Platonic and mystical attire, the mere placing of the finger near the mouth (fig.117) naturally suggesting to the philosophic Greek mind silence as an indication of wisdom. Moreover, Harpocrates, contrary to what Plutarch thinks, becomes in late and Ptolemaic times a vegetation-god. In a certain scene, Isis is represented as giving birth to Horus, following a posthumous fertilization by Osiris. The legend there says, "If Horus is well, plants are good." (At Edfu Horus was known as "the great god, lord of the sky, . . ., making green the leaves, lord of the meadow-land, who maketh the herbage grow."⁽²⁾

(1) Ibid., 378 C; cf. Pyr. 663, 664; Leps. Todt., 301 f.

(2) Chass., Edfou, III, 196; cf. Blackman-Fairman in JEA XXXV, 105.

As to the personification of ideas, Plutarch seems to contradict himself when he says, "On the nineteenth day of the first month, when they (i.e. the Egyptians) are holding festival in honour of Hermes, they eat honey and a fig; and as they eat they say, 'A sweet thing is Truth - γλυκὺ ἡ ἀλήθεια.'"⁽¹⁾ This means that they eat Truth as if it were something edible, thus implying that they live righteously. In Egypt, Truth was a goddess and at the same time the food of the gods and good men. A sort of cake offered to the deceased was called "truth"-bread, probably to signify that he would live also on Truth in the other world. Atum (and after him Osiris) was his prototype; he ruled the Universe with justice and indeed lived on it.⁽²⁾ So to personify ideas in this way was traditional in Egypt and quite conformable with her people's mythopoeic attitude towards things, based on a subjective rather than objective foundation. Other primitive societies did and still do follow this path.

The Egyptians did not only personify but also deified inanimate things and especially crops. For example, grain impersonating Osiris was lamented in harvest-time and joyfully acclaimed, when

(1) Plut., De Iside 378 B.

(2) Cf. Davies, Rekhmire^c, Pl. 97 (bottom).

sprouting in spring. Already by the Fifth Dynasty corn had been personified and divinised.⁽¹⁾ In the New Kingdom it is personified as a corn-god Nepri with two ears of corn on his head (fig.118).

In one of the Pyramid Texts, the deceased greets abstract things as well as corn in the following manner:

"Greetings to thee, O Food; greetings to thee, O Abundance; greetings to thee, O Corn; greetings to thee, O Flour.

Greetings to you, ye gods, who put the meal before Re^{ec}."⁽²⁾

In a Middle-Kingdom Text, the deceased (Osiris) declares that he wishes to be transformed into corn



"I am Osiris, I have come forth as thou, I have entered as thou, the gods live as I, I live as the gods, I live as 'Grain' (Npri³), I grow as 'Grain' I live; I die. I am spelt."⁽³⁾

In late times, instead of saying corn grew everywhere, the Egyptians would say that Osiris grew everywhere. They also believed that corn grew up from his body, as trees did. This is indicated by

(1) Cf. Borchardt, Sahure^{ec}, 109, 5.

(2) Pyr. 1065; cf. CT 177.

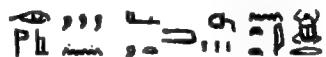
(3) Lacau, Textes religieux, LVIII, p. 105-06 = Re^{ec}. trav. XXXI, 15 f; trans. Breasted, Development, pp. 22-23, 277.

a text on the sarcophagus of ^cAnkhnesneferibre^c (XXVIth Dynasty):

"Hail! Thou art Osiris, the great god, who existeth everywhere (i.e. corn growing everywhere). Hail! Thou art Osiris beloved of Truth. When I put him in the embalmers' workshop all sacred plants arise from him, and grow from his limbs."⁽¹⁾

Most prominent among the sacred plants that grew from Osiris' body was corn, which was thought to have grown from his limbs:

(2)



in order to nourish people:

"The Majesty of Thoth speaketh to Osiris: 'These plants, which have come into being with thee, (they) are the corn.' "He hath made it to provide for men."⁽³⁾

Without water corn would never sprout:

"Whenever the inundation floweth men and gods alike rejoice. They rejoice for the corn that hath come from thee, and they hop (with mirth) because of the corn which hath issued from thy limbs."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Sander-Hansen, op. cit., ll. 258-60, p. 100.

(2) Ibid., ll. 256-57, pp. 100-01.

(3) Ibid., ll. 261-62, p. 101.

(4) Ibid., ll. 284-88, p. 105.

Cattle, too, "kiss the earth" (snf t3)

"because of what hath arisen from thy limbs alive,"⁽¹⁾ as they usually do on the arrival of the inundation. Those who rejoiced over the abundance of corn had also to grieve at its disappearance, merely because these two emotions were a reminder of the two major events in Osiris' life - his resurrection and his death. In the "Mystery Play of the Succession" Pharaoh (or Horus), in his coronation, wears the knf-breastdress, the symbol of Osiris, to mean that the son is embracing his father and that Osiris is then resurrected. His death is here symbolized by the crushing of corn (Osiris) and the making of bread and beer:

"It happened that smrt-beer was brought.

This means that Horus weeps because of his father and turns to Geb. Horus speaks to Geb, 'They (i.e. the enemy) have put this father of mine into the earth' (Stage direction) Osiris - 3h-bread."⁽²⁾

The sprouting of corn refers not only to the god's resurrection but also to his enormous fertilizing power and his beneficence as a producer of corn to nourish his land. In him one can perceive various

(1) Ibid., l. 290, p. 105.

(2) Sethe, Dram. Texte II, ll. 104-06, pp. 213 f.; trans. Frankfort, Kingship, p. 136.

natural powers working together, or mythologically he is at once a god of the dead, a god of water, a god of earth and a god of corn. In point of fact it is hard to analyse the character of Osiris in toto and separate his ^{roles} one from the other, or to segregate his ^{role} as a cosmic deity from his ^{role} as a deified dead king. The unifying factor in all these ^{roles}, the thread that connects them, seems to be corn:

"Hail! Thou art Osiris, the great and living god, who gave birth to corn, who did every deed coming out of thy limbs. Hail! Thou art Osiris who created corn to sustain the cattle. The gods live on thy love forever. The gods live on that which thy limbs created, thou living god of the earth, beloved of Truth, son of Rē^c, whom he loveth eternally."⁽¹⁾

Thus resurrection in Egypt was strongly attached to Nature.

The sprouting of corn from the body of the deceased in the embalmer's workshop is significant in the sense that it symbolises the realisation of the desire for resurrection.

"The gods say weeping, 'Osiris N. did proceed to the Necropolis (upon her bier). Corn came

(1) Ibid., II. 297-302, pp. 106-07.

from her in the embalmer's workshop, when Thoth had placed her there."⁽¹⁾

In this passage two great events are mentioned as succeeding one another: death and resurrection. The departure for the Necropolis (on a bier) did not mean to the Egyptian that the deceased would go to a land from which there was no return. In fact both bier and corn were thought to be pointing in the same direction, in that they alluded to the resurrection of the deceased. The bier lifts him above death,⁽²⁾ and on it he raises himself as if rising from his bed. The idea of resurrection succeeding death occurs in the oldest funerary texts, but is allegorically expressed by "coming" after "going" and "waking up" after "sleeping".

"They say to thee, Osiris N., 'thou art gone, thou art come; thou art asleep, (thou art awake); thou art (dead (lit. thou landest)), thou art alive.'"⁽³⁾

It is significant that grains were put to germinate in the Egyptian tombs in the hope that they would take root. From the New Kingdom onwards, an effigy of Osiris was deposited in the tomb

(1) Ibid., ll. 326-50, p. 114.

(2) Cf. Mar., Dend. IV, Pl. 58 and p. 283.

(3) Pyr. 1975; cf. 1006, 1927; CT 74, l. 506; Pyr. 1760, 2102, 2115; cf. Speleers, Textes des cercueils, p. 280; cf. also CT 9 ll. 30-31; Bk Dead; 38 B. 6.

to be removed at the end of the year and replaced by a new one, together with grains intended to germinate shortly afterwards (cf. fig. 112). The deceased, as in the case of ² Ankhrowy (c. XXXth Dynasty) may have it represented on his wooden coffin so that the same desired end may be fulfilled. Osiris there is shown lying in a tub (hspy) with corn sprouting from his body, as is done in the Khoiak-festival. (1)

Besides being a symbol of resurrection, corn may also serve as a means of the preservation of life both in this world and in the hereafter. In this way the secular and the eschatological rôles of corn are intimately connected. The dead in the Netherworld feed on grain-offerings:

"Their food-offerings are of grain Offerings are made into them upon earth of the grain from the fields of the Netherworld." (2)

Likewise it plays the rôle of a nourishing element in the form of bread. On offering-tables loaves of white bread of different shapes are, among other things, always laid to nourish the

(1) See fig. in Petrie, Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe, London, 1889, Pl. II, and p. 8-9; cf. also Loret, Rec. trav. III, 44, 48; Daressy, Fouilles de la vallée des rois, in Cat. gén. Pl. 7, No. 24061; Gardiner-Davies, Tomb of Amenemhêt, p. 115.

(2) Sixth Division of the Duât = Budge, The Egyptian Heaven and Hell, London, 1905, pp. 187-89.

deceased's soul and body, (1) and his Ka is said to eat with him of the offered bread. (2) He has to eat it to live after death and to become a spirit and a god. The spiritualisation of the deceased through the eating of bread is essential. He may be offered barley, wheat or corn, "when he ascends" (3) "that his livelihood may be secured thereby" (4) and so "he shall not die" (5) As first-fruits they are offered to him on certain feasts. (6)

In a Middle-Kingdom coffin text, both bread and corn are said to be offered to spiritualise the deceased and deliver him from death.

"O Osiris! I have replenished thy barns; I have looked after thine edifices. Thy bread is not musty; thy beer doth not turn sour O Osiris N.!"

(1) Pyr. 37.

(2) Pyr. 789; cf. 564.

(3) Pyr. 1950.

(4) Pyr. 874.

(5) Pyr. 657.

(6) Cf. CT 72, l. 300.

Corn is beaten for thee; barley is harvested for thee; thy first-fruits are made from it on thy monthly and half-monthly feasts. O Osiris N! Thou hast arrived Spirit and Powerful like unto the One-in-Front-of-the-Westerners, like unto Osiris, like unto the substitute for Min. O Osiris N! Thou shalt not die; I do not allow that thou shalt die." ⁽¹⁾

Generally "his bread comes on high with (that of) Rē^c" ⁽²⁾ and we find in the rite of "Opening the Mouth" the deceased's mummy taken out of the burial-chamber ⁽³⁾ and offered "bread of the Broad Hall of Rē^c," ⁽⁴⁾ and the deceased regaled himself with the foods and drinks of Rē^c and the other gods in the Field of Offerings in the west of the sky.

"That which (Rē^c) bites, he gives to N.; that which he nibbles, he giveth to N., that N. may sleep and be well every day." ⁽⁵⁾

Rē^c, Thoth and the other gods are asked to let the deceased

(1) CT 67, ll. 284-87; cf. Pyr. 655, 859, 1226; TR 39.

(2) Pyr. 310; Bk Dead 169, l. 9.

(3) Davies-Gardiner, op. cit., p. 58.

(4) Ibid., Pl. 17 A, p. 60.

(5) Pyr. 123 f., 133.

participate in their material existence:

"Re^c and Thoth, take N. with you,
that he may eat of that which ye eat,
that he may drink of that which ye drink,
that he may live on that which ye live,
that he may sit on that which ye sit,
that he may be mighty by that whereby ye are mighty,
that he may voyage in that wherein ye voyage."⁽¹⁾

Such offerings as Re^c is asked to give to the deceased consist of barley and emmer-wheat, bread and beer, which will protect him against hunger and thirst:

"O ye who preside over food, ye who are attached to
plentifulness (3gb),
commend N. to Ftk-t, the cup-bearer of Re^c, that he may
commend him to Re^c himself,
that Re^c may commend him to the Chief Fodderers of this year,
that they may seize (reap?), and give him,
that they may take and give him barley, emmer-wheat, bread
and beer."⁽²⁾

(1) Pyr. 128-29; cf. Bk Dead 178, ll. 17-8; cf. also Davies-Gardiner, op. cit., p. 103.

(2) Pyr. 120-21; cf. Bk Dead 178, ll. 5-7.

In the Underworld the desire of the deceased is not only to eat of the bread of the altar of Osiris but also to "write down the number (of the things) which strengthen(?) the heart, thousands of loaves of bread, thousands of jugs of beer which are on the altars of his father Osiris."⁽¹⁾ Hence the custom of the ancient Egyptians to provide their dead relatives with provisions of bread and corn. Corn on plates has been found from the Middle Kingdom onwards in tombs beside the corpses. Its import is twofold: it will nourish the dead and it will serve as a means to their resurrection.⁽²⁾ Without eating the bread of Osiris, the deceased would neither satisfy his physical desire nor fulfil his hope of living again. Both hunger and thirst were to be avoided as they might lead to a second undesirable death,⁽³⁾ and so Osiris is to provide him with his own bread. Corn, as we showed, comes out of Osiris' body. In other words it is his body and spirit, or his spiritual body, which he has given up to men for sustenance.⁽⁴⁾

Rendel Harris has recently tried to prove the influence of

(1) Budge, Bk Dead 31; cf. Nav. Todt. in Davies-Gardiner, op. cit., p. 105; Davies, Tomb of Ken-Amun, p. 48, Pl. 55. Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, I, ll. 11.

(2) Cf. Gardiner-Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, p. 10.

(3) Pyr. 131, 119; Bk Dead 178, ll. 4-5, 20-21.

(4) Cf. Budge, op. cit., II, p. 178 f.

Osiris on both the Old and New Testaments. In his view Judaism and Christianity could not stand entirely aloof from Egyptian religion. The attempt is praiseworthy, however crude it is. The collaboration of the students of comparative religion is therefore required to elucidate this connexion. However, in this study we shall have to take a cautious attitude, and we prefer substituting the word "parallelism" for the word "influence" in his argument. In his interesting essay, What was the Afikomen? (No. 2) he very ingeniously explains the term "Afikomen" (Piece of bread) in the light of Egyptology, and in the end infers that the Jewish Passover-festival, in which a bit of bread is hidden and then found, was influenced by the Osirian religion. Although he bases his proposition on Egyptian etymology he does not reach a decisive conclusion. This is undoubtedly due to the intricacy of the subject. He presumes that the word "Afikomen" means either (a) "Ha^cpy rise!" + Sem. ^ר - a combination of an Egyptian word and a Hebrew Semitic one; or (b) "Ha^cpy is found" - a purely Egyptian "sentence", H^cpy gm.n.tw, regardless of the grammatical rule that calls for the insertion of the suffix ~~מ~~ after the passive verb to refer to Ha^cpy; or (c) "Ha^cpy, we have found him" H^cpy gm.n! again overlooking the dependent pronoun sw ~~ב~~. This is his main proposition on which he founds his argument. It is to be remarked that he rejects all Greek interpretations by classical scholars and attempts to approach the problem from an Egyptological

angle. The Jews, he asserts, before fleeing from Egypt, participated in the celebration of Isis' Mysteries, in which the two sisters lamented their dead brother Osiris and invoked him, either as a dead king, to come again to his house, or, as the god of the Nile, to rise: "Ha^cpy rise!" Thus Osiris, he thinks, as the Nile-water, is besought to come and fertilise the land so as to produce a good corn-crop. At the same time he is the bread which will sustain his people. When Osiris was lost to his sisters and his people, they had to find him, and when they had found him, the Nile rose and the grain germinated from his corpse.

Doubtless finding after searching forms an outstanding part of the Mysteries of Osiris in Egypt on one hand and appears in the Passover of the Jews on the other. In the latter, when a piece of bread has been hidden somewhere in the house, a child is told to find it. If the child finds it, he or she will be lucky all the year round, and in this case the piece of bread will be found just as Osiris-Ha^cpy was found. Whether or not this explanation is connected with the Osiris story must await further research. Yet I think the search for bread at the Passover arose in this way:

During the Passover festival only unleavened bread was removed from the house. The child was sent to search for any piece of bread yet remaining in the house in order that it might be

(1)

destroyed. The parallel thus does not seem very happy.

Suffice it to say, then, that this part of the Passover is a striking parallel with that part of the Osirian Drama in which Osiris was lost and was finally found.

Other instances of a conspicuous parallelism may be found in Apocryphal and New Testament texts. When Adam and Eve were expelled from Paradise, Adam felt agonizingly hungry. Jesus, out of compassion and sincere desire to alleviate his misery prayed to God for him:

"The Father, answers: '.... go Thou and give him Thy flesh and let him eat thereof' "Then the beloved Son took a little piece of His right side, of His divine flesh, and He rubbed it down into small pieces, and brought it to His holy Father. His Father said unto Him, 'What is this?' And He said, 'This is my flesh, according to what Thou didst say unto Me.'" The Father answers: "'Wait, and I will give unto Thee some of My own flesh, which is invisible.' Then the Father took out a portion of His own body, and He made it into

(1) Cf. Exodus XII, 18-20; I Cor. V, 6-8. See also Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels, Vol. II, p. 325 b. Encyclopaedia Biblica, Article Passover - Feast of Unleavened Bread.

a grain of what." Then Jesus called Michael and said unto him, 'Take this (grain), and give it unto Adam so that he and all his sons may live thereon.'" (1)

Jesus' body, as well as the Father's, is corn, for it is, as he himself stated, bread, and it was corn that satisfied the hunger of Adam and Eve and their progeny just as it later rescued the Egyptians and the Israelites from famine under the competent viziership of Joseph. Corn was consumed of course after it had been made into bread.

The description of Jesus' body as bread occurs in St. John, where his flesh does not only sustain his faithful followers as the Bread of Life, but is also the bestower of eternal existence as we see from the discourse between Jesus and the Jews at Capernaum:

"Jesus therefore said unto them, Verily, verily, I say unto you, It was not Moses that gave you the bread out of heaven; but my Father giveth you the true bread out of heaven. For the bread of God is that which cometh down out of heaven, and

(1) Budge, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, London, 1913, pp. 244-46.

This passage is, of course, not orthodox Christian teaching and would have been repudiated by the leaders of the Church. It is more than a case of mere parallelism, it is also a case of pagan survival with some Christian ideas added to it. Note that the source is Coptic.

giveth life unto the world.. They said therefore unto him, Lord, evermore give us this bread. Jesus said unto them, I am the bread of life: he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst."

(St. John VI, 32-35)

And

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth hath eternal life. I am the bread of life. Your fathers did eat the manna in the wilderness and they died. That is the bread which cometh down out of heaven, that a man may eat thereof, and not die. I am the living bread which came down out of heaven: if any man eat of this bread, he shall live for ever: yea and the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world."

(Ibid., 47-51)⁽¹⁾

Jesus, having been sent by God from Heaven, appears on earth with a perfect human nature. He is the Lamb which came down from above to take away the sin from this world.⁽²⁾ His Father is God;

(1) Cf. Mark XIV, 22 ff. = Matthew XXVI, 26 ff. = Luke XXII, 19 ff; I Corinthians XI, 23 ff. See Barnes, The Rise of Christianity, 1947, § 293, pp. 291 f., § 296.

(2) John I, 29.

and he who keeps in constant spiritual contact with Jesus and believes in Him, will please God, since Christ's life is the life of God. This mystical notion is conveyed to the Jews by reference to the Bread of Life, which is the flesh of Jesus or Jesus Himself - the Bread which spiritualises men's lives like the bread of Osiris. "He who cometh to Me," says Jesus, "shall never hunger." So spiritual life is given to him who feeds on Jesus' flesh and also drinks His blood (an abhorrent thing to the Jews who consider blood as the dwelling-place of the soul and regard it as taboo). In other words, by the "unio mystia" the believers will live in Jesus and Jesus will live in them. This sort of identification, we hold, is typically Osirian.⁽¹⁾

The analogy between Osiris and Christ is obvious: their bodies nourish mankind. We should call attention, before we proceed to discuss this point any further, to the occurrence of blood in the above passage. The blood of Christ, if drunk, bestows eternal life. It is therefore the water of life, which came out of Jesus' body,⁽²⁾ analogous with the Osirian exudations. In both cases it is their vital liquid as well as their exudations. Like Osiris, it is also said of the believer in Christ that "out of his belly shall flow

(1) Bernard, J. H., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to St. John, Edinburgh, 1928, pp. 202-15.

(2) Cf. John XIX, 34.

rivers of living water." ⁽¹⁾ As to Osiris, it is said that he fills the lakes and makes the names of rivers; to "make a name" meaning to the Egyptian to create the thing named. ⁽²⁾

"Full are the lakes for thee. The name of rivers
⁽³⁾
is made for thee."

Now we return to the Bread of Life to see its connexion with blood, water, beer and wine. Just as men feed on Christ's flesh, so the Egyptians did on the body of Osiris. A hymn to him extant on one of the ostraca found in the tomb of Ramesses IX reads:

"Thou art father and mother of men, they live by thy
breath, they (eat) of the flesh of thy body. Primal
god is thy name." ⁽⁴⁾

Osiris' body is corn or bread, which men have to eat that they may lead a righteous life in this world and enjoy a spiritual one in the hereafter. In all primitive religions bread and water, for

(1) St. John VII, 37-8; cf. Rendel Harris, Jesus and Osiris (Woodbrooke Essays, No. 5), Cambridge, 1927, p. 28. And also out of the Throne of God, Revelation, XXII, I; cf. Ezekiel XLVII, I.

(2) Supra, p.218; CT 76, ll. 6-7.

(3) CT 76, l. 307; cf. Speleers, Textes des cerceuils, pp. 41, 280, XXXIX f.

(4) Erman, Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern, in ZAS XXXVIII, 19, 31, 33.

obvious reasons, were of great importance as being the two simplest staple foods. But it seems as if the Egyptians were one of the oldest, perhaps the oldest, peoples to develop the idea to perfection. In the Osirian religion bread and water are, as it were, twins, although water may at times be replaced by wine or ale. The title of Spell 65, l. 276 of the Coffin Text is "Giving Water and Bread (to the) True 3h-Spirit", and in another text the following Spell occurs:

"Thy fresh water, O father Osiris N., hath come from
Elephantine Thy hmf-bread is Osiris' bread."⁽¹⁾

Ale in Egyptian religious texts is described as red, since it is made from red grains sprouting from Osiris' body.

"Thy bread and thy beer are abundant. They are the
exudations which have issued from Osiris N."⁽²⁾

The Pyramid Texts are much clearer on this point. In Pyr. 39 c, the beer which is said to issue from Osiris' body is offered to the Osiris deceased:

"N., take to thyself the liquid which went forth
from Osiris. One black mnw-stone bowl of beer."⁽³⁾

(1) CT 67, l. 282; cf. Pyr. 864, 1116, 1908 (water);
76 a, 95 (hmf-bread).

(2) CT 68, l. 291; cf. CT 72, l. 301.

(3) Cf. Pyr. 37, 64, 90-91.

Then we can see a parallel between Osiris' beer and Jesus' blood. In Chap. 68 of the Book of the Dead the deceased, having gained mastery over his heart, breast(?), arms (hands), feet, mouth, complete body, offerings, water, air, water-flood, river, river-banks, 'those men and those women who oppose me in the necropolis, and them that give orders to oppose me on earth,' (said), 'Behold, let him live upon the bread of Geb I shall live on cakes (made) of white grain, and my ale shall be (made) of the red grain of Ha^cpy'"⁽¹⁾ Isis and Nephthys, holding a vase of water and a piece of bread lament Osiris in Khoiak with the following words:

"The glorious emanation which doth proceed from thee nourisheth the gods and men, reptiles and quadrupeds that they may live thereby. Thou comest from thy retreat at thy time, to spread the water of thy soul (Bai), to distribute the bread of thy being (ka)."⁽²⁾

(1) Cf. TR 23, l. 31-5; CT 173 f-h, 225.

(2) P. Berlin 1425, V. 1-2 = Budge, Egyptian Reading Book, p. 83 = _____, Osiris II, p. 63.

CHAPTER XVI

AND THE NATURAL/SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE MYSTERY PLAY OF THE SUCCESSION

To sum up our last point: a true Christian, by eating Jesus' flesh and drinking his blood becomes spiritually united with him, and capable of approaching God, his Father, in the same way as Jesus himself. This sort of spiritual life is eternal, since he who has faith in Christ has faith in God and will lead an eternal spiritual life. It is by the acts referred to above that he acquires the faith which will bring him in spiritual contact with the Son of Man, and unify himself with Him. The Christian Faith is, then, put on a transcendental plane much higher than that of the Osirian religion. Yet a question here arises: if both the ancient Egyptian and the Christian eat of the flesh of their Saviour as corn or bread so that their lives become spiritualized, then does a spiritual communion ever occur in the Osirian cult as it does in Christianity? If it does, how is it effected, and what is its aim?

The identification of the deceased with Osiris, a current belief in ancient Egypt, occurred only after death, and a spiritual union between them was only then obtained. Though he became a spirit, his identification with Osiris did not necessitate that he must live with the gods in the hereafter. He had first to prove his innocence in the process of his trial in Osiris' judgment-hall.

Besides this eschatological identification or union, there was another spiritual communion which took place between a living person and the spirit of a dead one, between Horus and Osiris, that is to say between Pharaoh on his coronation day and his late father - but on a smaller scale in this latter case. This was effected by the performance of a royal rite in the form of a mystery play or pageant, just before the coronation of the new king. This rite is preserved in a Middle-Kingdom papyrus found to the west of Thebes and probably goes back to the First Dynasty, ⁽¹⁾ if not to the pre-dynastic epoch. This has been vindicated by the fact that the king was given the feathered-crown of ^cAndjety, the prehistoric peasant ruler of the Eastern Delta, and that this ceremony, like that of the Ceremony of ⁽²⁾"Driving the Calves", ⁽³⁾ was of Lower Egyptian origin.

Certain preparations for this royal pageant were made. The "Great Ones (i.e. the representatives) of Upper and Lower Egypt" were afterwards called to attend the ceremony, and watch the "fastening of the crown by the Keeper of the Great Feather," ⁽⁴⁾  whereupon the new King offered them half-loaves. The bread, it is

(1) Sethe, Dram. Texte, II, p. 98; cf. Holmberg, op. cit., p. 155.

(2) Infra, pp. 332 ff.

(3) Blackman, in Myth and Ritual, pp. 30-31.

(4) Sethe, Dram. Texte, II, ll. 91-6, pp. 203-04.

to be noted, was called the "Eye of Horus".⁽¹⁾ The crown was also called the "Eye of Horus."

"Thou receivest thy Two Feathers and the White Crown
as the Eye of Horus."⁽²⁾



It was the same Eye as was given to the deceased, either as a liquid - water or beer - or a solid offering, or more especially

(1) Ibid., ll. 152-33, pp. 236 f.

(2) Ritualtexte, Berlin P. 3055, Col. 3, 9-4, 2 = Abubakr, A. el-M.J., Untersuchungen Über die Ägyptischen Kronen, 1937, pp. 42-3. The Lower Egyptian crown from the time of Snofru onwards consisted of two falcon tail-feathers, two cow-horns and two ram-horns (fig.119). It was the symbol of royal power. The following hymn in the Pyramid Texts does not only express this idea, but also proves its antiquity:

"Hail, Crown Nt! Hail, Crown In! Hail, Great Crown!
Hail, Mighty of Magic! Hail Serpent!
Cause thou the terror of Onnos to be like thy terror;
Cause thou the fear of Onnos to be like the fear of thee;
Cause thou the cry(?) of Onnos to be like thy cry(?)
Cause thou the love of Onnos to be like the love of thee;
Cause thou that his sceptre be at the head of the living;
Cause thou that his staff be at the head of the spirits;
Cause thou that his sword prevail against his enemies."

Pyr. 196-97 = Erman, Hymnen an das Diadem, p. 23, Abh. Berl. Akad., 1911 = Erman-Blackman, Literature, pp. 10 f. = Kees, Aegypten, p. 41; CT 44.

as bread in order to revivify him or to sustain him. (1) It was thus a means of resurrection as in the rite of "Opening the Mouth." In the latter rite, after the deceased's statue (Rekh-mi-Re^c's) had been purified with water and natron and fumigated with incense, the stm-priest, representing the deceased's son, Horus, asked the sculptors to make him a statue of his father. The statue having been made, Horus started to defend it with them. Finally he was asked by the lector-priest to offer his father his Eye to eat. (2) The lector-priest said: "I am (?)ing (3b.n.i) to thee thine eye in which thy Bai is." (3)  In this instance of resurrection, the offering of the Eye of Horus very likely means the sustaining of the deceased with it as a symbol of bread and beer. In the Mystery Play, Horus orders the followers of Seth to lift up his Eye into his face, and the stage direction interprets this as the serving of food. (4)

The bread which the King offers to "the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt" has a certain magical effect on them; it joins

(1) Pyr. 38, 64 b; CT 71; Bk Dead 178.

(2) Cf. Pyr. 31 a, 77 c.

(5) Davies, Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re^c at Thebes, II, Pl. 105 (row 3, fig. 3), also see I, pp. 76-7; episode 23 (Davies 19); Pyr. 104-14; Schiaparelli, Il Libro dei funerali, p. 270.

(4) Sethe, Dram. Texte II, ll. 66-8, p. 173, ll. 80-81, pp. 190 f., ll. 97-100, p. 207 f.; cf. Pyr. 58-61 c.

(1)

their heads with their bodies, and thus protects them from any further dismemberment. In the Osirian cult, bread and water share the same function, water, as we have seen in our discussion of lustral rituals, being capable of re-uniting the deceased's limbs before resurrection. In this case bread is the bread of life, just as the Osirian libation is the water of life, or to put it in the Egyptians' words, "The Life of the Soul." The living as well as the dead eat Osiris as bread, and drink him as water or beer. This is certainly a means of spiritual union between them and the god, since the god is inherent in them. Yet in these elements the god is not alive but dead in a form of vegetation, for, as a grain, he is threshed - or beaten - to be made into bread or beer. In the Mystery Play of the Succession, one of the preparations made for the accession ceremony is the making of bread, which "the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt" will eat. So the actual threshing of corn by bulls and asses may mythologically be interpreted as the killing of the grain-god Osiris by Seth's followers incarnated in those beasts. The interference of Horus to save his father is therefore urgent - he beats them to prevent them from trampling his father.

(1) Sethe, op. cit., ll. 97-100, pp. 207-08.

"It happened that barley (it) was put on the threshing-floor.

It happened that male (animals) were brought (to trample it).

(That means Horus rescuing his father)

Horus speaks to the followers of Seth: 'Do not beat this

father (it) of mine.'

(Stage direction) Beating Osiris; cutting up the god - barley.

Horus speaks to Osiris: 'I have beaten for thee those who

beat thee.'

(Stage direction) The followers of Seth - the bulls - Letopolis.

Horus speaks to Osiris: 'His spittle (isd.f) shall not splash
(c₃) (against) thee."

(Stage direction) Seth (isd)⁽¹⁾ - the asses (c₃) - Ascension
to heaven."⁽²⁾

Osiris' enemies are thus incarnated in oxen, and so they have to
be beaten for their wrong-doing. This incident can be dated back
to the Old Kingdom, when Horus said to his father:

"I have smitten for thee him who smote thee as an ox."⁽³⁾

In the same manner bulls were sacrificed as Sethian scape-goats to
be offered and eaten by the spirit of the Osiris deceased in the rite

(1) Pyr. 261 a.

(2) Sethe, op. cit., ll. 29-33, pp. 134-38.

(3) Pyr. 1544 a; cf. 1007, 1685, 1977.

of "Opening the Mouth."

Besides, in Horus' intervention there is a symbolical reference to his ~~defence~~ of his father, which is also found in the rite of "Opening the Mouth." After the sculptors have made him a statue of his father, he tells them not to strike it any more. ⁽¹⁾ In the Ceremony of "Driving the Calves" the calves are driven to thresh the corn, and though they are beaten to thresh it, there is no mention of branding them as Seth's followers, as in the rite in question. They act most amicably, since they, by trampling the grain, hide the god's tomb from his enemies. In both the rites of the Mystery Play and of "Driving the Calves", mythology plays a prominent part—the struggle between Osiris and Seth, Osiris' collapse and Horus' deliverance of his father.

Nevertheless Osiris must die; corn must be threshed and ground, and made into flour and bread. While "the Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt" are eating the bread given to them by the King, Horus, after his coronation, realises in their eating of the bread the potential danger into which his father is falling. He therefore puts on the kni²-breastdress  and the spiritual communion through the embrace (kni³) between son and

(1) Supra, p. 81.

father takes place. This kni stands for Osiris, and the wearing of it by Horus implies the embrace between them as we have seen in the rite of "Opening the Mouth." No sooner does Horus embrace his father, the kni-breastdress, than Osiris becomes no longer "tired" (a euphemism for "dead") and becomes alive and well again.

"It happened that a kni-breastdress was brought by the lector-priest.

That means that Horus embraces (kni) his father

Horus speaks to Gēb, 'I embrace (kni) this father of mine, who has become weary - Osiris - the kni-breastdress. He is now perfectly well.'"⁽¹⁾

In the rite of "Opening the Mouth," we have also seen that by giving Osiris his Eye, Horus not only feeds him and brings him back to life, but also gives him his spirit or Bai in it.

"This is Horus who is in thine arms;
he will save thee

Thou hast closed thine arms round and round him;
he will not depart from thee."⁽²⁾

So Horus is called "the Spirit of Osiris" and "the Spirit of the

(1) Sethe, op. cit., II, ll. 101-03, pp. 211 f.

(2) Pyr. 636; cf. 585.

Great One" - 'Aρ.Βε.Ουσιρι and 'Aρ.Βε. ουηρι. (1) On the other hand, by embracing Horus, Osiris also gives him his vital power or Ka, which he gives to the other gods, too.

"Osiris N., thou art the Ka of all the gods;

Horus has saved thee; thou art become his Ka." (2)

In this way the two spirits are unified, and it should be noticed that by embracing his father, the King saves Osiris from a second death. In the end the dead King is buried and endows the earth with fertility. It is also said that he ascends to heaven.

In the Mystery Play Horus orders his sons called the shnw-people to seek Osiris, and having found him, they carry him (in this case, the statue) upon their arms, and make him a ladder to climb up to his mother Nut, who will receive him and

(1) P. Paris, I. 920; cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 87.

(2) Pyr. 1609, 1831-32; cf. 102 b, 587, 1653, 1831, 1832.

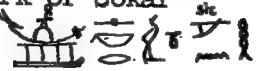
(3) Sethe, op. cit., II, II. III-13, II. 114-16; II. 117-19, pp. 220-25; cf. Pyr. 1338-9, 1823, 1828 f. For the carrying of Osiris by the sons of Horus after his purification in the rites of the "House of the Morning" and the "Opening of the Mouth," see Blackman, JEA X, 56; Junker, Stundenwachen, p. 58 (figs. 320, 321). In fig. 120 two figures, representing the nine smrw-priests are urged to carry the Osiris deceased Patuamenap  on their arms. These priests symbolize the four sons of Horus: Imesty, Hapy, Duamutef, and Kebhesnewf. The text below the figure (collated with the other versions) runs thus:

"For recitation by the lector-priest: 'O ye nine smrw-priests! Betake yourselves to him, carry him ere he go away from you. O ye Children of

(1) protect him. Osiris' rising from earth symbolically refers to his resurrection after his triumph over his enemies. (2) The enemies are always represented by bulls, oxen or asses, which "carry one greater than they," and which are beaten by his son Horus. (3) His resurrection or rising, as we have seen, is also connected with corn. In texts, there are several references to

= Horus! Betake yourselves to your father N...!
Carry him ere he go away from you!
O N.! I place for thee the Children of Horus under thec that they may carry thee and that thou mayst have power over them. O ye Children of Horus, Imesty, Hapy, Duamūtef and Kebhesnewf, betake yourselves to your father N., carry him ere he go away from you (cf. fig.122).
O N! They carry thee like Horus in the Hnw-bark, they raise thee up (read tsi.sn or wts.sn tw) as a god in this name of thine 'the-Powerful-One-in-the-South-and-the-North' like this Horus that thou mayest unite with him."

Dlm., Patuamenap, II, Pls. 12-13, p. 41; for a figure of the Sons of Horus under Osiris' bier, see Mar., Dend. IV, 70 = Budge, Osiris II, p. 30 - the hnw-bark is the bark of Sokar



Bk Dead 1, l. 28.



Rekhmirec

Louvre



(Patuamenap) = Schiaparelli, op. cit., pp. 212-16.

- (1) Pyr. 638, 756, 778, 823, 825, 1344-45; 1607-08; cf. Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 123-39; Blackman, Myth and Ritual, pp. 29-32.
- (2) Pyr. 1700.
- (3) Pyr. 581, 587, 588, 626, 627, 642, 648-49, 651, 1544, 1977, 1628, 1632, 1699, 1993; CT 73.

Osiris living again, and mounted on an ass, i.e. Seth. Corn also is carried in this way to indicate that the god has subdued his enemy. In the Pyramid Texts a passage describes Osiris as ascending to the sky in a "dust-storm". Frankfort explains this as Osiris ascending "in the mounting chaff," with the winnowed grain, since Osiris is a corn-deity. If his translation and explanation of this passage are right, then it will add to Osiris' attribute as a corn-god, and will enable him to approach $R\bar{e}^C$'s celestial kingdom as a vegetation-god, who will feel himself at home in the Field of Reeds, since corn grows there to a marvellous height.⁽¹⁾ As the divine peasant par excellence, Osiris may be considered not only as the god linking up sky and earth, but also as the only one "who made the gods strong," and the only one "who made the barley and spelt to nourish the gods, and even so the living creatures after the gods, and no (other) god nor any goddess found himself (able) to do it."⁽²⁾

But as far as the spiritual union is concerned, we must not overlook a fundamental difference between the Osirian cult and the Christian Faith. In the Egyptian mind, the relation between

(1) Bk Dead 109, 11. 6-8 = Kees, Aegypten, p. 52.

(2) P. Chester Beatty I 14, 12. Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 186-87.

Nature and Man is restored by spiritual contact, after its breach by the death of Osiris, symbolised in the threshing of corn and subsequent consumption of bread and ale, while in the Christian belief the relation between God and Man is the main theme, a relation established between them through Man's union with Christ. Again, in one the body is not less important than the spirit, and it is necessary that it too should recover from mutilation before the spirit returns to it and that it should be further nourished by bread and beer to live again, whereas in the other faith the body, and its food are not inherently evil, and physical death is unavoidable, but is unimportant, since spiritual life is the chief object from the

(1) Christian viewpoint. The death of Osiris, a corn and fertility-god, meant to the Egyptians the imminent death of Nature and the consequent aridity of earth, which constituted a potential danger to the lives of the masses. So to prevent famine from occurring, Osiris must come back to life; or rather the earth had to recover its lost vitality which it would retrieve, if Osiris were enveloped by it. He had first to be delivered by his son from a second death by means of the spiritual embrace, which forms an integral part of

(1) See John XI, 25 f.

the Coronation Ceremony. Hence, in Egypt religion, kingship, cosmos, and society were interdependent for their common existence; and for their eternal being they had to stand together in perfect confidence against annihilation.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CEREMONY OF DRIVING THE CALVES - HWT BHSH

We have pointed out the places where Osiris' tombs were found; among them was Heliopolis. In Thebes, Edfu, Antinoupolis, and Memphis the connexion between the gods' interment and the sprouting of corn is evident. The same thing is noticeable about Heliopolis. Since it is his grave it becomes abundant with corn at a certain time of the year, and its granaries brim over. Further, owing to certain Ptolemaic representations, we now know how the god appropriated to himself an old agricultural custom, and how he linked it up with his legend, and interwove it with his fate. Although some scholars at times tend to distrust the later periods of Egyptian history, on the ground that they do not represent pure Egyptian life and that Greek ideas must have filtered into it, it should not be forgotten that the Ptolemaic period can be of great assistance and a really trustworthy authority on such matters as touch upon Egyptian rural and religious life. The "Ceremony of Driving the Calves" is a good example. Ample and informative literature about this ceremony, pictorial and verbal, has come down to us from that particular period, and it has now become possible to trace it back to pre-dynastic times. The difficulty is that Osiris does not appear in this ceremony at a very early time. Yet his appearance there is evident at a later date, which we cannot exactly define, but which we can safely put in the New Kingdom. It is likely that it also existed in the Middle Kingdom, when Osiris was supreme.

Before we examine the rôle of Osiris in it, an account of the ceremony is not out of place here. In fig.123, a god and a Pharaoh appear with four calves between them. The god is an ithyphallic fertility-god, and Pharaoh wears the 3tfw-crown, the old crown of Lower Egypt, (1) and drives the four calves, described as speckled, red, white and black, towards the god. They are driven with ropes tied to their forelegs (in this case the right forelegs). In his left hand Pharaoh holds the ropes together with a wavy rod representing a snake's tail. In his right hand he holds another rod that usually ends with a snake's head. (2)

The scene occurs in the temple of Edfu with a description of the ceremony, and is preserved in the temple of Denderah and the temple of Hashepsow at Deir el-Bahri, as well as in many other places. From the legends of the scenes we understand that Pharaoh drives the four differently coloured calves in order to thresh the corn and make of it a thanksgiving offering to the fertility-god.

(1) This crown consists of two parts: one is the Lower Egyptian feather-crown of Andjety (1), and the other is the white crown of Upper Egypt (2). In prehistoric times these two crowns were worn together by Osiris (fig.124) after he had unified the Delta, and Upper Egypt, and so became a single crown. See Abubakr, op. cit., pp. 7, 18-24; Scharff, op. cit., pp. 11 ff.

(2) Bull. Inst. fr. XIX, 73; cf. also Macadam, Temples of Kawa, II, Pl. 22 a.

This god is Min, but may elsewhere be replaced by ithyphallic or anithyphallic Amen-Rē^c (fig.125) or Horus the Behdetite. In return, the god, besides granting him sovereignty over Egypt and the whole world, promises him a multitude of kine and abundant corn in the new year.

Hence the two major acts of the ceremony are:

(a) the driving of the calves by Pharaoh to thresh the corn, and the offering of the harvest to a fertility-god.

"I have reached thy threshing-floor. I direct the calves behind thy corn, rope(s) being attached to their feet

The Speckled; the Red; the Black; the White."⁽¹⁾

(b) The endowment of Pharaoh by the god with political power and the promise of a new rich harvest.

"For recitation by Horus the Behdetite

'I give thee the verdure of the meadow I nourish thy youths, I feed thy calves, thy herds, their number is not known."⁽²⁾ "I give thee all fields (laden) with their goodly harvest year by year."⁽³⁾

(1) Chass., Edfou, III, 168, 9-169, 6.

(2) Chass., Ibid.

(3) Karnak, Portal of Evergetes I, JEA XXXV, 107.

This ceremony was performed not only in the Ptolemaic era and the New Kingdom (cf. fig. 126), but also in the Old Kingdom, as we learn from its representation in the pyramid of Sahurē^c. It can, moreover, be antedated to pre-dynastic times, or at least to the first two Dynasties, as has been proved by Blackman and Fairman. ⁽¹⁾ Their argument is that the atef-crown worn by Pharaoh in all the scenes of the ceremony is an old Lower Egyptian crown, which, therefore, points to the Lower Egyptian origin of the ceremony. The fertility god of Upper Egypt, Min, in the form of a bull, ⁽²⁾ before the time when Lower and Upper Egypt were united, was identified with an unknown fertility-god of Lower Egypt. The ceremony was performed every year as an agricultural rite to ensure the fertility of the land.

In Ptolemaic times, the Osirianization of this rite was unavoidable, and certain fundamental changes had then to be introduced in it to make prominent its new Osirian character. It depicted the death and resurrection of the king and the other chief episodes of his life, the struggle between him and his

(1) JEA XXXVI, 80.

(2) Wainwright, Sky-religion, p. 19.

brother Seth, his defeat, his subsequent burial, and Horus' revenge on Seth, and his great care to hide his father's burial-place for fear of further persecution. These main events of the Osirian myth we have already dwelt on in our discussion of the god's drowning and burial. The agricultural purport of the ceremony and the tragic aspect of Osiris' life brought about the same outcome - an affluence of corn through the fulfilment of the promise of the beneficent fertility-god, in one case Min, and in the other Osiris, both gods being represented ithyphallic as an indication of their fertility.⁽¹⁾ We must note that Osiris was not originally a fertility-god, but he was renowned for the power of fertility immanent in him, which he could transfer to the ground once he had been buried therein. His exudations sent forth the Nile, and also supplied the earth with a vitality that found tangible expression in the verdure covering its face, i.e. in trees and corn. We may now see why Osiris' tomb was extended to include the threshing-floor, and how corn appeared to be threshed there and to replenish Egypt's barns. The acts mentioned above were referred to thus in the Osirianized texts:

(1) Cf. Plut., De Iside (on the Papyrus) 355 E-F, 365 B-C, 371 F; Herodot., II, 48.

(a) "I drive for thee the calves, so that thy Hallowed Ground is free from all that is evil, thy place of burial hidden from all foes;" or "For recitation by Horus the Behdetite, great god, son of Osiris, beneficent heir who came forth from Isis, eldest son of Onnōphris the Justified; lord of strength, who overthrows Seth and slays the confederates of the Perverse One; who battles for his father and safeguards his creator; the Lion who makes Seth withdraw into the deserts." In the Ptolemaic version the King "drives the calves, treads the grave of his father, and tramples down those hostile to his sire. He is like Horus, who buried his father in Heliopolis, and who hid the body of 'His-Nose-liveth'"⁽¹⁾

(b) What Osiris gives to Ptolemy is "the dignity of Min" and "his strength," and what Isis gives him is "the favour of her son Horus."

In such Ptolemaic Osirian scenes, Osiris did not, however, appear in person as Min or Amin, though the ceremony was performed for him, possibly because he was thought to have been buried under

(1) A name of Osiris. See Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, p. 85.

the threshold. This, however, does not mean that the king did not celebrate it at times before the god's image. In an extremely interesting scene from the temple of Ramesses I at Abydus, (fig.126) the King drives the four coloured calves before the statue of Osiris, of which the fore-part only is visible - the hands and sceptres - with the words "Osiris Onnōphris" above it. In this Abydian ceremony the calves were driven with a view to threshing the corn and offering it to Osiris as a fertility-god. That they were, as Winlock and Moret assumed, sacrificial animals is, in our opinion, an untenable idea, as in such scenes, to the best of our knowledge, no animal sacrifices have ever been recorded. It is most significant that the king, instead of appearing in the atef-crown, wears the red crown of Lower Egypt, and this supports the opinion that the Ceremony is of a Lower Egyptian origin. (1)

Strangely enough the agricultural importance of the rite has almost been ousted, greater stress having been laid on the funerary side of the god's life. Its magical side is also conspicuous in the fact that Pharaoh will ultimately be triumphant over his

(1) Winlock, The Temple of Ramses I at Abydos, New York, 1937, p. 16, Pl. 3; _____, Bas-reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos, New York, 1921, p. 28, Pl. V; Moret, Mystères égyptiens, p. 205, fig. 41; Porter and Moss VII, 190 .

enemies and over death and destruction as well, and that, through the performance of a fertility and corn ritual, his reign and life will be renewed. Although the agricultural side is not so outstanding as that of the Osiris legend in the Ceremony, we should not belittle the importance of Osiris to rural life in ancient Egypt as a fertility-god absorbing in himself Min. In the Harvest-festival of Min, which took place at the beginning of summer, according to its representations (figs 127, 128), the King proceeds to the temple of the god to pour a libation and burn incense to him. In the Ceremony, it is to be noted, one of the priests cuts a sheaf of emmer-wheat (triticum dicoccum),⁽¹⁾ and the King is said to be "Reaping emmer for his father." The king here, according to Gardiner, is Horus, and his father is Osiris, and both are assimilated to the god of fertility. On the one hand, Horus' claim to the throne is confirmed, with the promise that his reign will be rich in sustenance, and on the other, Osiris receives an offering of the harvest, promising his son another plentiful one by the next year.⁽²⁾ Although the Harvest-festival did not originally belong

(1) Wainwright, Sky-religion, pp. 12, 19.

(2) Gardiner in his review of Frazer's Golden Bough: Adonis, Attis, Osiris, in JEA II, 125; Blackman, Myth and Ritual, pp. 27-9.

to Osiris, yet it could not in the long run escape Osirianization in the manner we have demonstrated. (1)

This ceremonial of "Driving the Calves" was, moreover, appropriated by Osiris individuals for their own advantage, and so it diverged from its original national objective. This happened for certain in the New Kingdom in the Twenty-First Dynasty, and possibly long before that, when it was represented on the deceased's coffin as in fig.129. Here the god's symbol is represented on the coffin and not his image. It is worth noting that the Ceremony was accompanied by the Sed-festival, the aim of which was always the renewing of the life and rule of Pharaoh for the good of the whole land. (2)

(1) Blackman, Ibid., p. 37.

(2) Infra, p.352, with fig.129. Blackman-Fairman, The Significance of the Ceremony "Hwt Bhsw" in the Temple of Horus at Edfu, in JEA XXXV, 98-112; XXXVI, 63-81.

CHAPTER XVIII

OSIRIS IN THE SED-FESTIVAL

We have seen that the coronation of the king might be commemorated on the first of Tybi⁽¹⁾ at the beginning of "winter"⁽²⁾ and so it occurred after the celebration of a national Osiris-festival towards the latter end of Khoiak. That day was the first day of the first month of "Swelling of the Emmer (sf bdt)" (Nov. - Dec.)⁽³⁾ of the second season, the season of the coming forth of the land from the water and the emergence of growing things. Despite the controversy of the date of the Sed-festival, one thing is clear and certain: it was a suitable day for such a festival, the renewal of the king's rule, as the Djed-pillar might be erected on it. On that day, too, Pharaoh's accession was commemorated as in the coronation pageant with the erection of the Pillar. Thus the Sed-festival was celebrated on the anniversary of the king's accession. This is the reason why the date of the celebration differed with different kings, although it might take place on the first day of the first month of the second season (prt) as in the case of the three Sed-

(1) I.e. first month of "winter", day I. I have for convenience referred to the Egyptian months by the names which they had acquired by Coptic times. This is an anachronism, but a convenient method of reference. See also Gardiner, Eg. Gramm., 205 bottom on the reasons why it is better not to translate III as Khoiak and IV as Tybi.

(2) Not the real winter but the "winter" season (prt) of the Egyptian sliding year.

(3) Parker, Calendars, p. 46.

(1)

festivals of King Ramesses II. The Sed-festival lasted for five days, and was in no way less important or less popular than these other two festivals. It was closely connected with the triumph of kingship over starvation and death, for in its triumph is the triumph of the people over destruction. The Sed-festival

(1) That it was always celebrated on I prt I as brugsch (Thesaurus, pp. 213, 1124), Sethe (Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens, p. 136; Kommentar Pyramidentexten, IV, 16) and Gardiner (JEA XXX, 30) proposed is not accepted by Professor Parker, who has searched into the dates of the Sed-festivals of King Ramesses II and Amenophis III. The third Sed-festival of the latter king is a good proof, since the ceremony of "Raising the Djed-pillar" was included in the Sed-festival. This ceremony, as we shall see from the study of the Khoiak-festival, was always celebrated on Khoiak 30 (Infra, p.). Hence, the third Sed-festival of this King was celebrated on Khoiak 30 and not on I prt I. It is quite likely too, as the same critic maintains, agreeing with Borchardt (Jahre und Tage der Krönungsjubiläen, in ZAS LXXII, 52-9), that the Sed-festival occurred on the anniversary of the king's accession.

He also refuses the view that tpy mnpt i.e., the first day of the year meant specifically the first day of the first month of the second season of the lunar year. It might also mean, so he thinks, the first day of the king's regnal year, and both lunar and civil years might not run concurrently. Thus the chronology of the Sed-festival and its connexion with the calendars of the country are still controversial and are awaiting further study, for which there is unfortunately no scope for the time being in the present work.

Parker, Calendars, pp. 61-2.

was celebrated on the first of Tybi to renew Pharaoh's vigour, because on this, the renewal of Nature's life relied. It is also a fertility-ceremony celebrated for the benefit of the land, as is clear from the determinative of the word  (1) to a fertility-god, mainly Min-Amun. (2) Although superficially the festival does not openly commemorate his succession, nevertheless a deeper significance may yet be found in it. In remote times, kings, after a certain period of time were put to death, as their health was thought to have failed. This period, some people put at thirty years, some people more, some less. (3) They were to be succeeded by younger kings capable of shouldering the responsibilities of royalty and society. This barbarous custom was abolished at a very early time, to be replaced by the well-known form of the festival in question. The idea of succession could vaguely be perceived, although it had receded far into the background. It implied the necessity for the renewal of kingship which, in turn, involved the renewal of Nature and the well-being of society.

Pharaoh either built a new temple as Neuserre^{-c} did, (4) or a festival-hall in a big temple as Tuthmosis III in the Karnak

(1) Wainwright, Sky-religion, pp. 20, 25.

(2) Ibid. p. 21.

(3) Moret, Des clans aux empires, p. 175; _____, Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique, pp. 255, 258; _____, Mystères égyptiens, p. 86, in Ann. Mus. Guimet, XXXVII; _____, The Nile and Egyptian Civilization, pp. 128, 129; _____, La mise à mort du dieu, pp. 50-52.

(4) Von Bissing-Kees, Re-Heiligtum, III, 49.

Temple, or used one of the courts of a temple for the celebration of this festival, as, for example, Ramesses III, who used the second court of his temple at Medinet Hâbû, the "Festival Hall,"
(1) for this purpose. The different gods who came in ships to assist at the festival were received cordially, and lodged in houses built especially for them, called the "Houses of the Sed-festival." The "Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt" represented the people at the festival, as they did in the Coronation Ceremony.

When the festival opened, a procession of the king, and the gods with their priests, was seen. The cow-goddess, sh3t-Hr, presided over the procession. Two princes, h3ty-^c and hry-wdb, acting for Pharaoh, preceded by the royal standards, went to inspect the cattle that were to be presented to the minor gods on this occasion. The greater gods then proceeded to Pharaoh's throne to express their loyalty to him. He, for his part, visited them in their shrine. To the "Festival-hall", where the king's throne was placed, was attached a house where he could stay during the festival to wash and put on his ceremonial robes.

It is remarkable that this festival, like the Great Procession of Abydus, the Coronation Play, the Raising of the Djed-pillar, the

(1) Hôlscher, U., The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III - The Excavation of Medinet Hâbû, Vol. III (OIP, Vol. LIV).

Khoiak-festival and the drama of Horus at Edfu, was celebrated with great pomp and that the masses took an active part in it. On the last few days of the month preceding the first month of the New Year (I prt I), all the country - houses, the necropolis, temples and Palace - were flooded with artificial light at night-time, and during four of the five "epagomenal" days which preceded New Year's Day (I Thoth) an illumination-ceremony was also celebrated. ⁽¹⁾ It is clear that the 1st of Tybi was a kind of New Year's Day itself, if it was the day of the Sed-festival. In this case, it was preceded by the Festival of Khoiak, to be discussed further on, which terminated on this day, and the Khoiak-festival too, it appears, was accompanied by illuminations on the 20th to 22nd of that month. ⁽²⁾ Thus it appears that we have, as it were, two New Year's Days, each one preceded by some sort of illumination festival. Whether this was really so, or whether it only appears so, is a question for the pundits of Egyptian chronology. At all events the point essential for our argument seems clear enough: the day of the Sed-festival was capable of being regarded as a New

(1) See Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhēt, pp. 96 ff.

(2) Infra, p. 359.

Year's Day, and it was preceded by a festival of illuminations. The scene depicting the Sed-festival in the temple of Amenophis III at Soleb (figs. 130, 131) supplies us with this significant aspect of the Illumination Rite, although in this instance the dates given are different.⁽¹⁾ A text there runs thus:

"Illuminating the baldachin of ----- in the Sed-festival, from the fourth month of the second season (Pharmouthi), day 26, to the first month of the third season (Pakhons), day 1, at dawn of the Sed-festivals - for recitation by the (chief) lector-priest: 'O stm-priest, let a flame be brought and given to the King! O King, take a light from the torch, which illuminated (the baldachin)!'"⁽²⁾

In one part of that scene of Illumination, the King and his wife Tiy stand facing the baldachin, and the King is seen holding a light at its open door to illuminate the throne. The stm-priest also holds a light, while the lector-priest recites the above formula. In another part the lector-priest stands facing a

(1) See Leps., Denkm., III, 84 a-b.

(2) Cf. Wilson, J.A., Illuminating the Thrones at the Egyptian Jubilee, in JAOS LVI, (2) 294.

procession of priests and officials to give them lights⁽¹⁾ so
that they may light the other temples of the district.⁽²⁾

The relation of Osiris to the Sed-festival is of great agricultural significance. The study of the meaning of Sed is helpful in this respect. According to Margaret Murray, (The Osireion of Abydos, p. 34) Sed was a god, whose name occurs on the Palermo Stone, and in the titles of the Old Kingdom, and who is represented as the wolf Wepwawet, standing on a standard crossed by a mace, with a projection called sd sd before him.⁽³⁾



The relation between Wepwawet and Horus, the ruling king, on the one hand, and Wepwawet and Osiris on the other, is clear. Wepwawet, who is often identified with Anubis, is on festive occasions identified with Horus from the very beginning, according to the Memphite Theology that goes back to the Thinite times. In it Horus to whom the two crowns have been assigned by Geb, the arbiter between Horus and Seth, is "that heir, the son of my (Geb's) son (i.e. Horus), the Upper Egyptian Wolf, the 'Opener of the Body' (i.e. Osiris' first-born) Wepwawet."⁽⁴⁾

In the Middle Kingdom, Wepwawet, simulated by Ikhernofret,

(1) Ibid., 295.

(2) Ibid., 296.

(3) Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 71 with n. 49, 79 with n. 1, 92.

(4) Sethe, Dram. Texte I, ll. 13-18, pp. 28 ff.

acting for the King in the Great Procession of Abydus, stands for Horus celebrating the resurrection of his father, Osiris. According to late traditions, Wepwawet, or rather Anubis, appears as the son of Isis and Osiris, and the brother of Horus. He provides his mother with a cow's head when Horus, in a fit of indignation, ⁽¹⁾ decapitates her. He is a divine herdsman, who tends his cattle. His kind acts are mentioned by religio-magical texts as the acts of the divine messenger sent by Re^c to embalm Osiris. Hence, if he is identified with Horus, and he is at the same time a herdsman tending his cattle, then the identification becomes closer if we remember that Horus, the present monarch, is also considered as a shepherd serving the interest of his flock, the people, who for their multiplication and well-being are indebted first and foremost to Osiris, the dead King, immanent in Nature through the good offices of his son Horus. Horus, in the Hwt-Bhsw ceremonial, as we have seen, drives the four calves to his father to receive from him pledges of plenitude in the new year. Anubis appears on his standard on such important feasts as the Fertility-festival of Min.

We should now study the Sed-festival, to which we have referred

(1) Supra, p. 270, n. 3.

in passing, not only because it was a sumptuous national festival like the Khoiak-festival, but also because such a festival could not possibly escape the influence of Osiris. Our attention was first called to this by a statement of Frankfort. On page 367 of his Kingship and the Gods, after discussing the irregular periods on which the Sed-festival occurred and recurred, and accounting for that irregularity by Pharaoh's deteriorating mental or physical condition, he says, "There is moreover no relation between the Sed-festival and Osiris, since the festival renews existing kingship and (1) is not concerned with the succession."

From this one may gather that Osiris' role in the coronation traditions is prominent, which is quite true, but one cannot agree that, as Frankfort seems to imply, Osiris has nothing to do with kingship in that particular festival. Frankfort, when he is confronted by a representation of Osiris' Sed-festival on a coffin from the New Kingdom, fig. 129,⁽²⁾ says that the ceremonial belongs to the hereafter, thus intentionally removing Osiris' influence on the world of Pharaoh. In his description of the festival he makes no mention whatsoever of an important episode closely connected with

(1) Cf. also Ibid., p. 79, and Wainwright, op. cit., p. 86.

(2) Müller, in ZMS XXXIX, 71 f.

Osiris, namely the erection of the Djed-pillar. According to him, Osiris, then, stands apart not only from kingship, but also from society.

We have pointed out in our discussion of the Djed-pillar that it belonged to Osiris, the god of Busiris, that it was introduced at Memphis in the Feast of Sokar, and that the identification of Osiris with Sokar, the oldest divinity of Memphis, occurred not in the Middle Kingdom but in pre-dynastic times, probably through the influence of the Heliopolitan cult (which had allowed Osiris' family a place in the Ennead) on Memphis, which bordered on the Heliopolitan Nome. In other words, the fusion of the Heliopolitan religion and the Osirian belief is clear in the funerary customs of the country, and especially in the Feast of the Sed, as is proved by the scenes in the tomb of Kherūf illustrating the ceremonies. Though this literature is from the New Kingdom, when Amen-Re^C had the upper hand, the solar details leave no doubt that the solar cult, preserved by the Pyramid Texts from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties and ante-dated to prehistoric Heliopolis, is represented in its conventional form by the Sed-festival of the New Kingdom. This was celebrated by King Amenophis III three times in his lifetime. We are mainly concerned with the first and third jubilees.

In the first Sed-festival the King appears sitting on a platform dressed in the festival attire with the Double Crown on

his head. He is accompanied by the Queen, and both King and Queen are protected by Hathōr⁽¹⁾ while they are distributing gold gifts to the noblemen. Then they go out in procession, headed by ten priests carrying standards of gods and other symbols⁽²⁾ and princesses carrying baskets, and playing the castanets. Of particular interest are the King's two barks that carry him and his great men.

"And they (i.e. the princes, the King's relations, the high officials and the nobles, after they had been rewarded by the king) were ordered to go to the lake of his Majesty to row in the two royal barks; and they grasped the stern-rope of the Bark of the Evening (Msktt) and the prow-rope⁽³⁾ of the Bark of the Dawn (M^cndt), and they pulled the one sitting on the Great Throne, and stood on the steps of the throne of his Majesty. This was done in accordance with what was registered in the ancient records"⁽⁴⁾

The two royal barks were pulled over the sacred lake (which

(1) Ann. Serv. XLII, 459.

(2) Ibid., 493.

(3) On the meanings of ssp-hōtt see Gardiner in ZMS XLIII, 160; Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Huy, 26, n. 3; Gardiner, On., I, 53.

(4) Ann. Serv. XLII, p. 492.

might be the lake in his temple on the western bank of Thebes or the Sacred Lake of the Karnak Temple). This drama is undoubtedly solar, as the King appears identified with Rē^c, or one of his followers, journeying in the Dawn-Bark by day and in the Evening-Bark by night. The two journeys allude to the matutinal rebirth of the god and Pharaoh with him, and the nocturnal dangers of his death, which will again be followed by his rebirth. The deep meaning of this part of the festival proves that the latter celebrates simultaneously the King's new reign and new life, which makes us believe that it is a sort of a coronation ceremony and not only a jubilee as Frankfort presumes.

The King, besides being identified with the sun-god, is identified with Horus, Osiris' son, who has to deliver his father, since in his deliverance his reign continues and harmony in Nature is effected anew. The means to this effect is the erection of the Djed, Osiris' pillar, which we have studied above. That the ceremony of the Sed was celebrated for the resurrection of Osiris is evident from the representation of the festival briefly delineated on the New-Kingdom coffin. It is not the King (Horus) who appears sitting on the throne; it is Osiris, who will enjoy a new life after his death by such a ceremony. He is represented wearing the Lower Egyptian crown which consists of the two feathers of the god ^cAndjety  (1), the ruler of the IXth nome of East Delta before Osiris,

(1) Pyr. 220 c., 1833 d. Moret, Le Nil, pp. 84-98, 101; Scharff, op. cit., pp. 11 ff.

and the Red Crown of Lower Egypt,  . (1) The two feathers of Cndty formed the Lower Egyptian Crown of Horus, which was worn by the King from the time of Snofru on. From this we may presume that Osiris here wearing this Lower Egyptian crown may at the same time play the rôle of the living king in the Sed-festival. (2) He is also represented wearing the Upper Egyptian crown, and in both cases he holds his royal emblems, the hk3- and the nhhw-sceptres.

Of this Sed-festival celebrated in the other world - as Frankfort asserts - there is insufficient evidence. We are inclined to think either that the King celebrates it for Osiris, as he celebrates any other ceremony to any other god for the benefit of kingship and the country, or that the deity sitting on the throne represents Osiris and Horus at once. As to the first opinion, two scenes on the same coffin come to our support. One of them illustrates the ceremony of "Driving the Calves", which we have already studied, and the other, the Running Ceremony at the Sed-festival. As for the latter, it can now be stated with certainty that it goes back as far as the First Dynasty, as it is recorded by the sealing of King Wedimu (3) and occurs on

(1) Abubakr, op. cit., pp. 38-40 with figs. 20-23.

(2) Supra, p. 333, n. I.

(3) Blackman, Some Remarks on the Clay Sealing Found in the Tomb of Hemaka, in Or. Chr. Anal. XVII, 4-9; cf. Emery, W.B., The Tomb of Hemaka, Cairo, 1938, p. 64 fig. 26.

the Palermo Stone, and on the Djoser Stela⁽¹⁾ in a relief of Hashepsow⁽²⁾ and in a Saite relief.⁽³⁾ On the New-Kingdom Coffin, the King appears running, holding at one time the mks- and the nkhw- sceptres, and at another, as a High Priest wearing the khopresh-crown (see fig. 129),⁽⁴⁾ a rudder and a bird. On the Wdīmw-sealing, the King performs four times the same course round a divinity, usually Thoth, represented by an ape. His purpose is to consecrate a piece of land called the "field" (sd sht sp 4 "Presenting the Field Four Times") to the god, or in other words the whole land of Egypt to him, that he may endow the land and its cattle with fertility to have a new plentiful produce and a multitude of stock which he is promised in the Fertility-festival of Min and the Hwt-Bhsw ceremony.

On the Wdīmw sealing and on Hashepsow's relief, the bull Apis is seen running , and by doing so he fertilizes both cattle and land. The same rite was performed at the end of the Sed-festival of King Amenophis III - oxen and asses being driven round the wall of Memphis "on that day when the sacred Djed-pillar

(1) Firth, C.M., and Quibell, J.E., The Step-Pyramid, II, Pl. 16.

(2) Lacau, Ann. Serv. XXVI, 131.

(3) Petrie, Palace of Apries (Memphis II), Pl. 5.

(4) Abubakr, op. cit., pp. 66-8; with fig. 46.

is erected for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris" - a portent of forthcoming prosperity. The connexion between the Sed-festival, Osiris, Horus and the land of Egypt is, therefore, very close and indisputable.

CHAPTER XIX

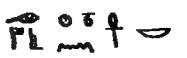
THE ROLE OF OSIRIS IN THE KHOIAK-FESTIVAL

Information concerning this national feast and the mysteries of Osiris is provided by the Ptolemaic scenes and the accompanying inscriptions of the temple of Denderah, the first recorded reference to it occurring in the Nineteenth Dynasty Theban tomb (Tomb 50) of (1) Neferhotpe. Two processions of priests from all over Egypt come to Denderah in this festival to commemorate the death, mummification and interment of Osiris. They are led by Pharaoh for the celebration in the temple of Osiris (in the temple of Hathor) at Denderah. Sixteen cities annually celebrate it at the same time in the month of Khoiak (𠁻𠁻) from the 12th till the 30th. (2) These are the cities which are said to contain the sixteen limbs of the dismembered god.

There are six main items used at that festival: a tub 𠁻𠁻 in which the moulds are put; the mould of Hnty-imntyw 𠁻𠁻𠁻𠁻𠁻 for moulding a statue of the god before his dismemberment; the mould of Sokar 𠁻𠁻𠁻 for moulding the statue of the god after his dismemberment; a double basin 𠁻𠁻 for forming the

(1) Davies-Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhêt, p. 115.

(2) Plutarch mentions this feast of Osiris as occurring from 17th to 19th of Athyr according to the Alexandrian Calendar. Its lunar dates would be from Khoiak 12 till Khoiak 30, the day of the "Erection of the Djed-pillar." We find that in the latter part of Plutarch's life 17th Athyr would be Khoiak 12 (A.D. 76) and 19th Athyr would be Khoiak 30 (A.D. 132). See Parker, Calendars, pp. 40-41.

part of the god's body belonging to the particular city; a mould for forming a cake of bread  to be offered by each city; and Osiris' sarcophagus .

Besides these, thirty-four barks are prepared to carry thirty-four mummies of the god, and the same number of the divinities who accompany them.

Khoiak 12 (December 8): "The 'Thi'-Feast at Denderah and the Sixteen Tombs of Osiris"

The dough of the cakes and corn is moistened separately with water, then ground, and kneaded. Half of the mixture is put into the mould of Hnty-³Imntyw to make a statue of the god before his death; the other half into the hsp-tub to form a part of his body. The two parts of the basin are then fitted one onto the other, and then the basin is put with the mould of Hnty-³Imntyw into the tub. The empty spaces are filled with water, which, in the case of an overflow, would pass through a hole in the bottom of the tub into a receptacle beneath. The tub is then covered with ornaments, a ritual is recited, and the moulded substance is left to take shape till the 21st of Khoiak.

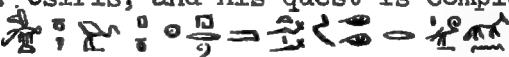
Khoiak 14 (December 10): "The Great 'Prt'-Feast at Denderah"

The substance of the other statue of Sokar (the name of the god after the reconstruction of his parts) is prepared; it consists of earth, dates, myrrh, resin, aromatic plants and ground precious stones. It is moistened with water, kneaded, and made into an egg which is covered with sycomore-leaves, and then put into a silver

vase and left till Khoiak 16.

Khoiak 16-19 (December 12-15): "The Feast of Osiris Hnty-Innityw"

In the third hour of the day, a priest presents a silver vase with the substance for the formation of Sokar's statue to Isis-Snti, saying, "I am Horus; I come to thee, O powerful goddess! I bring to thee these (parts of the body) of my father." Horus has gathered his father's limbs from the water on that day (Khoiak 16), in the guise of a crocodile⁽¹⁾ in order to re-unite them. Sokar's statue is then moulded, and the mould is taken away in a bed and put in a room till Khoiak 19 so that the limbs of the god may be re-united. At sun-set on Khoiak 19, the statue is taken out of the mould to be put in the sun to dry till Khoiak 23. Then Horus comes to see his father: he has found his object, i.e. Osiris, and his quest is completed.



Khoiak 20-22 (December 16-18):

Cloth is woven for twenty-four hours on Khoiak 20 for the

(1)



Mar., Dend. IV, 37, 90 = Möller, Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind, p. 79.

Fig. 132 (XXII Dyn.) illustrates Osiris' drowning and his deliverance from it by Horus in the form of a crocodile. It also depicts the Mysteries of Osiris performed by the Egyptians in later times at the "Feast of the Lake" of Herodotus (II, 170) at Sais. A model of Osiris' corpse was made and put on the back of a crocodile, which was pulled across the water to land, to be buried - a reminiscence of the older custom of ferrying the dead from their earthly dwellings on the eastern bank of the Nile to their eternal abode in the necropolis on the western bank. Möller, Ibid. Cf. fig. 133.

mummification of the statues on Khoiak 24. The next day, the statue of Hnty Imntyw and the parts of his body which were put in the tub are taken out. In the eighth hour of the day, on Khoiak 22 the funeral of Osiris begins. First the god's image is put in a bark, which sails on the river followed by thirty-four barks containing the images of thirty-four gods, the barks being lit with three hundred and sixty-five lamps. On their return, they are covered with cloth, and put in boxes made of sycomore-wood, and then replaced in the tomb of Osiris till Khoiak 24, when the god is embalmed.

The three hundred and sixty-five lamps, put on the ships which carry Osiris and the other gods on the river, as they journey to the tomb of the god, doubtless refer to the number of the days of the year. The old year is passing and the new year is at hand. With the passing of the old year, Osiris passes to the other world, but, simultaneously, is resurrected. This event of burial and resurrection is, therefore, accompanied by an illumination rite performed at the latter end of Khoiak, and was possibly observed from at least the time of the Middle Kingdom. On four of the five epagomenal days that separate the old year from the new one, Prince Djefaiha^cp, in his will, ⁽¹⁾ asked for candles to be lit by his Ka-priest. In

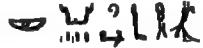
(1) Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût, Tomb I, l. 312; cf. Blackman, JEA X, 56.

the New Kingdom, the same rite of illumination was performed for Amenemhêt on those epagomenal days on which were celebrated the births of Osiris, Horus, Isis and Nephthys. (1) The day following these days is the New Year's Day (I Thoth):

"The day of the New Year. Kindling a light.

The Eye of Horus is vigilant for thy protection."

It seems that three hundred and sixty-five candles were lighted to represent the number of days in the year and, as in the case of Osiris (Amenemhêt), to lead him to his tomb, "to illuminate the road of darkness everywhere that he goes."

In the Coronation Ceremony we have seen that Horus embraces Osiris on the New Year's Eve before his succession. By this embrace their Kas are united. The "Uniting of the Kas" nḥb-kȝw  would appear to be the essential part of the succession drama. It is on the first of Tybi that the termination of the Festival of Khoiak, or more precisely the festival of nḥb-kȝw, was celebrated. (2) To the ancient Egyptians this was the day of days, because on it the renewal of kingship was celebrated in those years in which a Sed

(1) In certain other tombs the rite is to be performed on all five of the epagomenal days. Cf. Davies-Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 97-8. Cf. also Plut., De Iside 355 D-F.

(2) Wb. II, 292, 4. The only exceptional case comes from an Edfu calendar which calls III 3ht 29 (fourth month of first season, day 29) and not I prt I (first month of second season, day 1) Hathōr's "beautiful feast of nḥb kȝw." Edfou V, 350, 9-10 = Parker, Calendars, p. 81, n. 22.

festival took place. Thus in a religious sense it was the day
(1) of his accession, or the "New Year's Day of Horus the Behdetite."
Amenemhet lists nḥb-k3w immediately after the New Year's Day, but
it is not impossible that the same day is meant. It is on the New
Year's Day that the Kas of Osiris and Horus were united nḥb-k3w,
(2) and thus on this day Osiris was resurrected before his burial, to

(1) Sethe, Untersuchungen, III, 136.

(2) Gardiner presumes that the nḥb k3w-feast was the same as the
feast of k3 hr k3 (Khoiak), and that this festival moved
forward to the first day of the following month. (Gardiner,
Mesore as First Month of the Egyptian Year, in ZAS XLIII,
139; Tomb of Amenemhet, p. 97, n.4. Also see Sethe,
Zeitrechnung, p. 31, n. 2, and Weill, Bases, méthodes et
résultats de la chronologie égyptienne, Paris, 1926, p. 117).
But Professor Parker is the first to invalidate these two
arguments of Gardiner. He points out that the nḥb k3w-
feast was always celebrated on the first day of the first
month of the second season (I prt I), while the Khoiak-
festival, in the Calendar of Esna, always took place in its
lunar month, Khoiak, the latter being invariably the fourth
month of the 3ht-season. Gardiner, he says, misread o u
occurring in the tomb of Pahrai at el-Kab (var. of nḥb k3w)
for k3 hr k3

Parker goes on to explain why the Khoiak-festival and
some others were celebrated out of their proper months,
claiming that it was due to the fact that they were transferred
from lunar to civil calendars.

See Parker, Calendars, pp. 57-8.

be succeeded by Horus, and on this day a light  was kindled so that Horus might protect Osiris from the horrors of darkness.⁽¹⁾ Probably on that day or on the illumination days of the Khoiak-festival was celebrated the "Feast of Lamps" of Herodotus,⁽²⁾ which he witnessed at the end of his journey in Egypt on the lake of the temple of Athena at Sais, where he stayed for about a week. According to him the Feast was also celebrated in other towns of the country.⁽³⁾

Khoiak 24 (December 20): "The Embalmment of Osiris"

In the ninth hour of the night, the two statues of Hnty-Imntyw and Sokar are embalmed, and the previous year's statue of Osiris is burnt.

Khoiak 25 (December 21): "The Entombment of Osiris"

Osiris is buried, and in the night the Feast of Sokar is celebrated, while in Abydus during Khoiak 25-30 Osiris' funeral is enacted.

Khoiak 26 (December 22):

The Raising of the Djed-pillar and the Festival of Sokar in Memphis, Medinet Habu, and Denderah. The "Festival of Opening

(1) Virey, Le tombeau de Neferhotpou, p. 527, Pl. 3 (bottom row, left); Davies-Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 96-8, Pl. 23.

(2) II, 62; cf. 170-71.

(3) Sourdille, C., La durée et l'étendue du voyage d'Hérodote en Egypte, p. 5, with n. 6; Hérodote et la religion de l'Egypte, pp. 85-7, 95-6, 182, 253 with n. 2; Mallet, Le culte de Neit, Paris, 1888, p. 135; 37-45.

the Doors and the Epiphany of the Two Divinities" (Osiris and Isis?) in Sais. (1) The Feast of Hacking up the Earth (beginning of sowing). Osiris is lamented. The king overthrows the Apōphis-snake, and kills the ass of Seth. (2) In the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (3) he distributes beer and wine.

A detailed description of the Feast of Sokar which was celebrated in the latter end of Khoiak from the 21st till the 30th is extant in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The main day of the god's festival was always the 26th from the Old Kingdom onwards. (4) On each of these days, however, certain offerings were made. They may be summed up as follows:

Khoiak 21 "The-Day-of-Opening-the-Window-in-the-Sanctuary-of Sokar." Offerings

Khoiak 22 "The-Day-of-Hacking-up-the-Earth." Offerings

Khoiak 23 "The-Day-of-Entering-the-Sanctuary-of-Sokar."

Offerings

Khoiak 24 "The-Day-of-placing-Sokar-in-the-Midst." Offerings

Khoiak 25 "The-Feast-of-Deification(?)" Ntryt (The divinization of Osiris?) Offerings

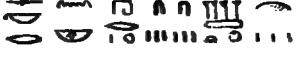
(1) See Naville, Totenbuch I, Pl. 31.

(2) Cf. Bk Dead 18; Grapow, Religiöse Urkunden, II, pp. 127, 128; Wainwright, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

(3) Kees, Götterglaube, p. 94.

(4) Maspero, Mastabas = Parker, Calendars, pp. 34-6.

Khoiak 26

"The-Feast-of-Sokar." 

Offerings

Khoiak 27

"The-Day-of-Anointing-the-Ennead."

Khoiak 28

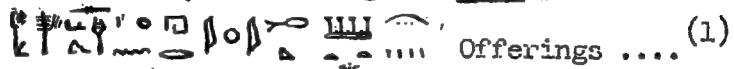
"The-Day-of-Dragging-the-Benben-Stone." Offerings

Khoiak 29

(Too damaged)

Khoiak 50

"The-Day-of-Raising-the-Djed-pillar."

 Offerings (1)

It is worth noting that Sokar, in this New-Kingdom version of the Memphite ceremony, is called Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, and that the Djed-pillar is raised as usual on the last day of Khoiak. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris may appear in the shape of Osiris, and especially from the time of the New Kingdom on, holding in his hands the hk3 ♀ and the nhhw ⌈ and wearing on his head the atef-crown, which three items are Osiris' tokens of royalty. On the other hand, Osiris, in the Ceremony of "Raising the Djed-pillar" in the tomb of Kherūf, is called Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The connection between the "Raising of the Djed-pillar" and this festival brings to light the importance of the latter to kingship. Under this new name of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, Osiris could not entirely be suppressed by Amūn in the New Kingdom. Though Sokar was more popular as a mortuary deity at that time, he helped Osiris to survive by their close affinities.

(1) Medinet Habu, Vol. III: The Calendar, The "Slaughterhouse", and Minor Records of Ramesses III (OIP Vol. XXIII). Chicago, 1934, Pls. 158-60.

When the Ptolemaic period came, Osiris was restored to his former pre-eminence, and the god prevented Sokar from falling into oblivion. Sokar's Feast was interwoven into Osiris' Khoiak-festival in order that both feasts might simultaneously celebrate the resurrection of the god. "In Ptolemaic times," says Holmberg, "it was usual to represent Ptah-Sokar-Osiris as Osiris, or to regard Ptah-Sokar-Osiris as another name for Osiris."⁽¹⁾

It is also worth noting that on Khoiak 25 the day which preceded Sokar's Day was celebrated the Ntryt-festival. (Khoiak 26). Keimer⁽²⁾ maintains that a vestige of the Ntryt-festival still survives in the popular spring festival of "Sham al-Nasim" (شم النسيم) (The "Breathing of the Breeze") celebrated every year at the beginning of spring by both the Moslems and the Copts of modern Egypt. Both sects celebrate it with merriment, by dipping onions in vinegar and then smelling them, by hanging bunches of them above their doors and rubbing their door-steps with them. This practice has its origin in the belief, still current, that onions are the symbol of greenness and youth and a means of warding off the evil eye and malicious spirits. In addition, some people, especially in

(1) Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 138-46.

(2) Egn. Rel. II (July 1933) Vol. I, pp. 52-60.

the country, present one another with onions on the day of this Feast.

Keimer compares what the modern Egyptians do at this time of the year with what their ancestors did on the Feast of Ntryt, supporting his comparisons with a number of texts and scenes from the tombs (e.g. figs ¹³⁴ 135). From the XVIIIth Dynasty, for example, a text from the tomb of Neferhotpe  (Theban Tomb No. 50) reads:

"Fourth month (Khoiak) day 25, day of the Feast of Ntryt, ritual for tying the onions;"
and another XIXth Dynasty text from the tomb of Amenmose  (Tomb No. 9) at Deir el-Medineh runs as follows:

"Ritual for tying onions round thy neck (in) the night of the Feast of Ntryt. Onions are put for thee round thy neck."

Thus it had become an established custom by the time of the New Kingdom to use onions as an ornament, as in the tomb of Huy  (Tomb 54), where the deceased and his wife are represented sitting with onions hanging on their chests.

The close relation between this feast of the onions, Ntryt, and the god Sokar in his Khoiak Procession is preserved in a funerary slab from the XVIIIth Dynasty ⁽¹⁾ in which the deceased describes the

(1) Stèle du Louvre C 50.

feast, or rather expresses his desire to enjoy it as he used to do in his life-time.

"Following Sokar, onions being round my neck,
(on) the day of the Feast of Ntryt."

And a text from the tomb of Nakht-Amun  (No. 189)

"In (my) following of Sokar (with) an onion(?)
round my neck (on) the day of the Feast of
Ntryt when he (Sokar) circumvents the Walls."

Hence people used to hang onions round their necks in the Procession of Sokar round the Walls.⁽¹⁾ This is moreover supported by the following text:

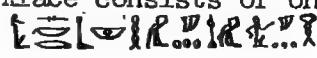
"Thou followest Sokar, an onion(?) being round
(thy) neck (on) the day of circumventing the
Walls."⁽²⁾

Khoiak 27 (December 23):

The death of the sun-god, then the death of Osiris. The search for Osiris: a cow circumvents the temple of Re^c seven times, supported by priests. Horus is born.

Khoiak 30 (December 25):

The Raising of the Djed-pillar in Busiris, the fight

(1) The deceased says, "My necklace consists of onions in the Feast of Sokar." 

(2) See Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum, 1855, Vol. II, Pl. 78.

between Horus and Seth, and the burning in Mendes of the
statue of Osiris made of corn from the previous year. ⁽¹⁾

From the above conspectus, one may discern the following facts about the close relationship between kingship and Nature through Osiris. As in the Mystery Play of the Succession, the ceremony of "Driving the Calves", the rite of "Opening the Mouth", and the Great Procession of Abydus, the fundamental elements of the Osirian myth are stressed: the god's contest with his brother Seth and his death by dismemberment; his son's noble act of finding his parts and his fight with Seth, and his ultimate triumph over him and finally the resurrection of Osiris before his burial. Osiris' resurrection in the Mystery Play of the Succession and the Festival of Khoiak is symbolised by the raising of the Djed-pillar, which takes place, as at times in the Sed-festival, at daybreak ($\overline{\text{TT}}$ $\text{f} \mathfrak{f}$) of the commemoration of the succession or "the New Year's Day." ⁽²⁾ This day might be, as we have noted, the first of Tybi, the first month of the Pr̄oyet-season (i.e. "winter") when the Nile had receded, and the plants had started to sprout. After his

(1) Loret, Les fêtes d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, in Rec. trav. III-V, 43-57; 21-33; 85-103. Hopfner, op. cit., II, pp. 292-93.

(2) Sethe, Untersuchungen, III, p. 138.

resurrection, Osiris had already been buried in the earth, which he fertilized from his tomb, filling the land with hopes for a new crop. That is why the first day of the new season was in this case considered both the beginning of a new reign politically, and the first day of the new year naturally; giving the people hope for a new life in both cases.

This national and royal festival, which was celebrated in various parts of the country for the benefit of the monarchy and society, was borrowed on a lesser scale in a naive way by individuals. The reason for this is now clear; the major festival aimed at the resurrection of Osiris every year, and as the deceased was considered as an Osiris through his identification with him, he found it expedient to appropriate the rite. It was performed for him by his Ka-priests at the same time as the national festival, after this had been stripped of its elaborate trappings, unsuitable for a private individual.

"Fourth month of inundation (Khoiak), day eighteen, the day of moistening the barley, and spreading a bed for the Osiris Neferhotpe, from this day forward until the twenty-fifth day, eight days in all."⁽¹⁾

The private individual contented himself with a wooden effigy, and

(1) Tombeau de Neferhotpou, Pl. 3, in Mém. Miss. fr. V; Davies-Gardiner, op. cit., p. 115.

his wife might do the same thing, as in the case of Amenemhet. The effigy was filled with barley and deposited in the tomb. This plant sprouted again from the supposed body of Osiris, being symbolic of new life for both the deceased and his wife. The effigy is a rectangular frame of wood, divided by three wooden bars lengthwise and nine crosswise. On it is put a papyrus mat, on which is spread a double large piece of linen. In the middle of this linen is laid an effigy of Osiris (in this case 1 m. 42 cm. high). An outline of Osiris is then made in black ink, and the inner space is filled in with the earth and sand in which the barley is grown. ⁽¹⁾

Just as the deceased hung a scarab-amulet on his chest to enable him to live in the other world, so on his death a Djed-amulet was put round his neck for the same purpose. Besides, "he shall become a perfect 3h-spirit in the Underworld, and on the New Year's Day, he shall be like those who are in the following of Osiris; " "he shall not be driven back at the doors of Amente; cakes and ale and meat shall be offered unto him upon the altars of Re^c, or of Osiris Onnōphris; and he shall triumph over his foes in the Underworld for ever and ever." The text which was written wholly or partly on both sides of the

(1) Daressy, Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois, Cairo, 1902, Pl. 7; Quibell, Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu, Cairo, 1908, p. 35.

Djed-amulet is Chapter 155 of the Book of the Dead. It runs as follows:

"Rise up thou, O Osiris! Thou hast thy backbone,
O Weary-of-Heart; thou hast thy vertebrae, O Weary-of-
Heart! Place thou thyself upon thy side. I put
water beneath thee, and I bring unto thee a Djed-
of gold that thou mayest rejoice therein."⁽¹⁾

(1) For such an amulet, see Quibell, op. cit., p. 62 and Pl. 4; Daressy, op. cit., pp. 82, 132 ff.; Bk Dead 155.

CHAPTER XX

OSIRIS' DJED-PILLAR

Long before the times of the Ptolemies, the "Raising of the Djed-pillar" was celebrated every year, sometimes with, and sometimes without, such funerary episodes as bulk large in the Khoiak-festival. It is recorded by two distinct texts - one pertains to the Middle Kingdom and forms an integral part of the Mystery Play of the Succession, and the other is inscribed on the walls of the Theban tomb (No. 192) of a notable of the New Kingdom named Kherūf. ^{~~~~~} We shall now study the Djed-pillar rite in order to see its relation to the King's coronation on one hand, and the rôle it played in Osiris' resurrection on the other.

Before we proceed to prove this relation, we may note that the Djed-pillar first appeared on the monuments from at least the Second Dynasty (with the name of Khasekhemwy in a tomb at Hierakonpolis) ⁽¹⁾ as a symbol of good luck, and then in the Pyramid of Djoser as a decorative design. ⁽²⁾ Osiris' association with the Djed-pillar is first recorded by the Pyramid Texts, where he is called "Djed", ⁽³⁾

(1) Quibell, Hierakonpolis I, Pl. 2.

(2) Lauer, La pyramide à degrés I, p. 147, fig. 151, p. 148, fig. 152; II, Pls. 34 (1), 65 (4).

(3) Pyr. 719, 1362; Sethe, Pyramidentexte I, 394; _____, Übersetzung III, 329-30.

and it is quite likely that this symbol was first worshipped at Busiris Ddw in the Delta before it was worshipped at Memphis under the name of "The Glorious Djed" Dd spsy  and used in the coronation pageant there.

Osiris is well known as the "Lord of Busiris" on the Old-Kingdom Mastabas, ⁽¹⁾ which proves that the god was worshipped there at least in the Old Kingdom. But whether or not Osiris was worshipped in the Old Kingdom as "the Glorious Djed-pillar" at Busiris is still disputable. Sethe maintains that at that time the Pillar had nothing to do with Busiris Ddw, that the relation between them was a matter of casual linguistic resemblance, and that the "Glorious Djed," from the very beginning, was a local Memphite deity closely connected with the ceremony of "Raising the Djed-pillar," which was celebrated in Memphis on the daybreak of the Sed-festival by the first Egyptian King in memory of the unification of the country and the King's enthronement. ⁽²⁾ The hall, in which the Sed-festival was celebrated, was divided into two parts representing the Two Lands : ⁽³⁾ in them Pharaoh sat wearing the Upper and Lower Egyptian crowns.

The one thing which is fairly certain is that Osiris was worshipped in the Old Kingdom as a Djed-pillar, when he was called

(1) Mariette, Mastaba, 149, 214, 250, 259.

(2) Sethe, Untersuchungen, III, 134 f.; cf. also, Dram. Texte II, 156; Junker, Onurislegende, p. 64 f.; Holmberg, op. cit., p. 156.

(3) Sethe, Untersuchungen, II, pp. 136-37.

the "Djed-pillar." The Djed-pillar in the Coronation Ceremony received offerings:

"It happened that offerings were made to the Djed-pillar." (1) ~~to the Djed~~
In other words, it was Osiris to whom offering was made, since the Pillar was his symbol, and the symbol of his resurrection from the Old Kingdom onward.

The "Raising of the Djed-pillar" was an important episode in the Feast of Sokar, celebrated in the month of Khoiak (e.g. at Medinet Habu in the temple of Ramesses III). In his Procession, Sokar was carried in a boat, represented as a falcon - perhaps through his identification with Horus - with a solar disc on the head, standing on a mound. The ship was dragged on a sledge. (2) It is worth observing that the ship's stern has the shape of an oryx's head, and it probably, as we have previously pointed out, represents Seth carrying Sokar. (3) Incarnated in an oryx, Seth is said, in this instance, to be carrying Horus as a falcon, which stands on his back as a sign of his victory over him, i.e. his father's enemy, or to be carrying "one greater than he", i.e. Osiris. (4) It is quite likely that this myth also explains the

(1) Sethe, Dram. Texte II, l. 46, pp. 153-54.

(2) Kees, Götterglaube, p. 94.

(3) For Sokar, as a Horus-falcon on a mound, in a boat with an oryx's head also see Virey, Tombeau de Neferhotpou, Pl. 3.

(4) Supra, pp. 216 ff.

representation of Sokar in the boat, and, if we are right in thinking so, had the same purport in the Feast as celebrated in the Thinite period. This Feast of Sokar is mentioned on the Palermo Stone, and has been proved by Sethe to be dated to the First Dynasty. The identification of Ptah, Sokar and Osiris may have occurred at Memphis at least at that time, i.e. very much earlier than the Middle Kingdom, contrary to what Holmberg thinks. (1)



If this leads us to agree with Sethe, that the Ceremony is so old as to be dated to the Thinite period, when the "Raising of the Djed-pillar" was included in the Sed-festival, (2) the dispute would be limited to whether or not Osiris was worshipped in Busiris before Memphis. But Kees, in Götterglaube, p. 295, does not agree with Sethe regarding his supposition that the Djed-pillar was not connected with Busiris at all. "Gemeinsam mit dem Königtum," he says, "zog Memphis aus Busiris den Djedpfeiler nach Memphis und fügte ihn, sicher bereits vor der Blütezeit des AR, seinem Götterkreis ein," and he again insists on that connexion: "Aber der Name des Djedpfeilers hängt doch engstens mit dem von Busiris (Ddw) zusammen!"

(1) Op. cit., p. 138. See Sethe, Untersuchungen, III, p. 137.

(2) Sethe, op. cit., p. 138.

The High Priest of Ptah was called, from the beginning of the VIth Dynasty, not only "the Prophet of Sokar" but also "The Prophet of the Glorious Djed-pillar," which was the symbol of Ptah and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The identification of these gods, as we have now demonstrated, must have occurred at least in the Thinite epoch, and must have been closely connected with the kingship of Horus, which followed the death of Osiris. This event was symbolised from the first by the "Raising of the Djed-pillar," an episode added to the Feast of Sokar (Khoiak 21-30) at Memphis. This Feast lasted ten days, the most important of which were Sokar's Day (Khoiak 26) and "the Day of Raising the Djed-pillar" (Khoiak 30). This was later on introduced in, and fitted to, the major Khoiak-festival in order that it could be celebrated on Khoiak 30, and in order that Tybi 1, the first day of the first month of Prōyet ("winter") or the New Year's Day, could witness both "the day of the interment of Osiris" (after his resurrection to live in the other world),⁽¹⁾ and the King's ascent to the throne - a ceremony which signified the re-establishment of order in this world. A reference to it is implied in the name of the Heliopolitan primal serpent-demon, the protector of

(1) Brugsch, Mériaux, Pl. 9 = Rec. trav. V, 32.

these events, ~~and~~ ^{▲ 6 8} Nhb k3w "the One-Who-Decides-Property."

Furthermore Osiris as "Lord of Busiris" and the "Glorious Djed-pillar" was much more well known from the New Kingdom onwards, and in Ptolemaic times, too, he was called the "Glorious Djed-pillar at Busiris." (1) (Cf. fig. 136.)

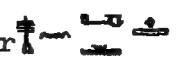
We now know that once the deceased was resurrected, offerings were made so that he might eat and live again, as was done in the rite of the Fr-Dw3t and that of "Opening the Mouth." The Djed-pillar represented Osiris, and its lifting meant his resurrection. But when it stood for Seth, who was said to have been carrying "one greater than he," Seth was represented as a Djed-pillar carrying the symbol of Osiris, the (2) i(3)m-tree. The raising of the Djed-pillar as an indication of Osiris' resurrection, then, necessitated the presentation to the Pillar of food, consisting mainly of portions of sacrificial animals incarnating Seth, to intimate that Osiris had triumphed over his enemy. Among these animals were the goose and the oryx, the heads of which are often seen on the offering-table. In the Mystery Play of the Succession both heads were offered:

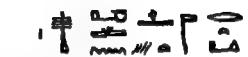
"It happened that to the Djed-pillar an offering was made, consisting of the head of an oryx and

(1) Chass, Edfou, I, 165; cf. Holmberg, op. cit., p. 161.

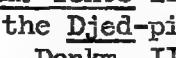
(2) Supra, p. 215.

the head of a goose." (1)

In the Ceremony of "Raising the Djed-pillar" from the New-Kingdom tomb of Kheruf a similar offering is made after the raising of the Pillar  (fig. 137) and the legend runs:

"Giving divine offerings to the Djed-pillar." 

In the Great Procession Prt-C3t of Abydus, the Mystery Play of the Succession, the rite of "Opening the Mouth," the Ceremony of "Raising the Djed-pillar" and the Festival of Khoiak, a mock fight took place, in which two parties represented the people of Buto. Some of them shouted, "I choose the Horus N.." (2) Such a sham fight was very popular in Egypt, and it was first performed in the Middle Kingdom in the Great Abydian Procession. But mention of it, as the real fight between Horus and his father's enemies, is made by the Pyramid Texts, and the resurrection of Osiris seems to have followed it. (3) Herodotus describes a similar fight fought with wooden clubs by over a thousand of men at the temple of Papremis. When the priests wanted to carry the image of the god

(1) Sethe, Dram Texte II, l. 46, p. 153 f. See fig. reproduced from Sethe, Dram. Texte II, Pl. 15, where two oryx-heads are offered to the Djed-pillar; Davies, Rekh-mi-Re^c, Pls. 106, 107; Leps., Denkm. III, 233 a, where Ramesses VII offers to Harakhti-Atum in one of the scenes of Tomb No. 1 at Biban el-Muluk (XX Dyn.) The legend says, "Killing an oryx."  Dlm., Patuamenap II, Pl. 1. As to the oryx and the goose as sacrificial animals on the offering-table see Dlm., op. cit., Pl. I, 6, 7, 16; Pl. VII, 33, 32, 23; Pl. XIV.

(2) Sethe, Untersuchungen, III, p. 137.

(3) Pyr. 1005-08, 1877 ff.

into the temple a party of the men prevented them from doing it. A larger party then interfered, and many were wounded and killed in the fight. The reason for the fight was that Ares (Amen-Min, Osiris) came to see his mother in the temple and have intercourse with her, but could not attain his object until he had gathered a large number of men from another town and beaten the attendants of the temple. "From this, they say, arose this custom of a battle of blows at the festival."⁽¹⁾ This may be explained by the fact that the god wanted to come back to life despite his enemies who stood in his way, and was helped by his followers to fulfil this desire, as by his resurrection "men and the whole world would be rescued from great trouble."⁽²⁾ Horus was victorious, and his victory was immediately followed by his enthronement and the unification of the whole land.

In the Mystery Play, after the Sethian offerings were made to the Djed-pillar, it was said that Horus had become powerful, and that his words were omnipotent, and he therefore ordered that the diadems of Upper and Lower Egypt should be given to him.⁽³⁾ Hence it is pertinent to consider whether mortuary offerings have anything to do with the crown of the living king.

(1) Herodot., II, 63.

(2) Gressmann, Alte. Or. XXIII, 32-3.

(3) Sethe, Dram. Texte II, l. 64, p. 153.

To answer this question, we should first remember that death, in the Egyptian mind, did not set up an unsurmountable barrier between his life and life in the hereafter. ⁽¹⁾ We see this in the letters that the living sent to their dead to seek their protection, and in the food - mainly corn - sent with the letters. The same attitude is seen in the departure of the deceased from his tomb on occasional visits to his house ⁽²⁾  , his participation in the feasts ⁽³⁾ and in the embrace between Horus, the living king and Osiris, his dead father, symbolised by the kni²-breastdress, or bib, in the Coronation Play. Offerings were not only called the "Eye of Horus" ⁽⁴⁾ but were also named by the terms for the White Crown of Upper Egypt and the Red Crown of Lower Egypt, since these also were symbolised by the Eye of Horus. Offerings in general, and water in particular, would ritually make the deceased powerful, as would the two Egyptian crowns. The Red Crown would add particularly to his might, possibly through its identification with water, for water, as it happens, was occasionally designated

(1) Cf. Davies-Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 19, 44, 120; and many other writers have made the same point.

(2) Gardiner-Sethe, Egyptian Letters to the Dead, p. 10.

(3) Parker, Calendars, p. 35.

(4) Sethe, op. cit., ll. 66-7, p. 173 f; Speleers, Comment...., pp. 75-6; CT 225.

by the Red Crown in the Coffin Texts. (1) The two words (2) are closely similar and may even have sounded alike, but the similarity in writing is not, as we believe, only a phonetic matter, but a matter of common function: both, like the Eye of Horus, impart power and new life.

Again the Eye of Horus may denote the crown. (3) According to Egyptian tradition, all sorts of offerings come out of Horus as well as the Osiris deceased, and so the Eye of Horus is said to "issue forth from him", i.e. Horus, the living king, as a crown.  (4) The same notion is expressed in Pyr. 1234:

"N. is crowned with the white crown, the eye of Horus wherewith he is powerful."

And

"Thou receivest thy Two-Feathered Crown (swty) and the White Crown as the Eye of Horus." (5)



(1) CT 22.

(2) Wb. II, 198, 4 and 10.

(3) Pyr. 33, 48, 737 (cf. 845 b), 900, 1234, 1795, 2075, 901, 253, 901.

(4) B.M. Stela 574 from the time of Ammenemes = Sethe, Agyptische Lesestücke, 75, 11; cf. Pyr. 198; CT 44, 11. 185-86; cf. Abubakr, op. cit., p. 58; Frankfort, Kingship, pp. 107-08.

(5) P. Berlin 3055, Col. 3, 9-4; 2 = Abubakr, op. cit., p. 43.

Hence the relation between offerings and coronation in general, and water and crown in particular, which make their recipient powerful, like Osiris' exudations that revivify a dead body, and convey Osiris' vital power (or Ka) to Horus the living king.

The relation between Osiris and the Djed-pillar, which we have shown to be the symbol of his resurrection, implies his struggle against Seth and his ultimate victory over him. In the Mystery Play the Djed-pillar is raised by Horus' children at the order of their father, and in lifting it they are said to be lifting and placing him on Seth.

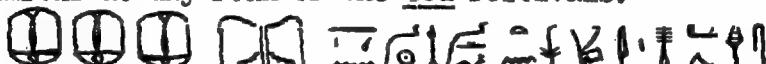
"It happened that the Djed-pillar was raised by the King's acquaintances. It means that Horus ordered his children to place Seth under Osiris. Horus speaks to the Children of Horus: 'Let him be stable dd under him.' Seth under Osiris who is bewailed. The raising of the Djed-pillar. Push (him i.e. Seth) under the Fallen One. The Children of Horus. The King's acquaintances...."⁽¹⁾

In later versions of the Ceremony, such as that of the tomb of Kherūf, it was the King himself who raised the Djed-pillar at dawn of the Sed-festival  whereas

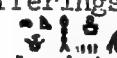
(1) Sethe, op. cit., II, ll. 48-50, pp. 156 ff. fig. 138 where Horus and his Four Children stab Seth, an ass-headed man, with their knives before Osiris and Serapis.

in the Middle Kingdom he merely watched his sons and acquaintances acting for him in the Coronation Pageant. In the New Kingdom, the ceremony seems to have taken place inside the royal palace, and at this time the Queen and the Princesses also took an active part in it, the King using a rope (see the example of the time of Amenophis III, fig. 137).⁽¹⁾ Later still King Sethos I, as is represented in

(1) The feast is shown in the Tomb of Kherūf, which depicts the third Sed-festival of King Amenophis III (fig. 137) and shows the King and his Queen sitting on their thrones in a royal baldachin, receiving a precious vase and four necklaces from the owner of the tomb. The scene is described in the words, "The King gloriously appears on the great throne like unto his father Re^c every day." The King makes offerings to the Djed-pillar, which appears as a mummy standing on a sledge in a shrine, wearing the Two-Feathered-Crown with an uraeus in front, and holding Osiris' sceptres. Then the Djed-pillar is erected: the King lifts it with one rope while three of his relatives (iry h nswt)  help him with the other. This ceremony takes place on the eve of the Sed-festival and is described as "The Raising of the Djed-pillar by the King himself at daybreak of the Sed-festivals."



Another priest faces them supporting the pillar. Meanwhile offerings, a part of which consists of bread and beer,

 are made to it by a kneeling priest. The Queen and sixteen princes, standing behind the King, assist at this ceremony. Then follows singing, dancing and a mock fight between the "People of Pe"  and the "People of Dep"  , i.e. the inhabitants of two originally separate, but later combined, towns on the predynastic site of Buto - with fists and papyrus stems. In the end heaps of offerings are brought on ships, a bull is sacrificed and the whole ceremony closes by the driving of cattle, oxen and asses round the Walls of Memphis.

Ann. Serv. XLII, 484, 487, 488.

his tomb, raised the Djed-pillar, called "Osiris, the Glorious Djed," not with a rope, but with his own hands (fig. 70), and the same King made offerings to it "giving cloth to his father."⁽¹⁾ It is Osiris, in all these instances, whose resurrection is implied by the raising of the Pillar. In the Coronation Play he is said to be carried by Seth; the i³(3)m-tree is lifted by the Djed-pillar - the tree being Osiris' symbol, the Pillar ⁽²⁾ Seth's. Such animals as asses, oryxes, ⁽³⁾ hippopotamuses, pigs, ⁽⁴⁾ crocodiles, bulls and oxen, and even men with reddish pigmentation of skin or hair were considered as Typhonian creatures, and therefore persecuted to the point of death.⁽⁵⁾ For this reason the Djed-pillar which represents Seth must suffer the same maltreatment when involved in the ceremonial sham fight between the followers of Horus and those of Seth, which commemorates the real combat that took place

(1) Calverley and Broome, The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos, III, Pl. 8.

(2) Diodorus I, 99; cf. Seth's name "The Red Oryx" in Wb. V, 488, 492; Bk Dead, 18, 134, 3-6.

(3) Wainwright, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

(4) Diodorus I, 88; Plut., De Iside 363 B.

(5) Diodorus I, 88; Plut., De Iside 280 D; Wainwright, op. cit., pp. 52-3.

between them in much more remote times.

"It happened that the Djed-pillar was smitten. It means that Seth is killed, as Horus orders his Children (to do it). Horus speaks to the Children of Horus: 'Let him stand, smitten and fettered.' Seth smitten and fettered. The Djed-pillar is made to bow."

And

"It happened that a mn^c-fight (broke out). This means that Horus struggles with Seth."⁽¹⁾

Rather than take part in the fight, Horus (i.e. the King) watches it from his ship on the river, and, as Sethe rightly thinks, he thus acts as Geb, who settled the dispute by urging both parties to forgive and forget. By the episode of the Djed-pillar, therefore, in the Succession Drama, Osiris is resurrected in order that the King may be sufficiently powerful to replace his father on the throne of Egypt. The business of coronation now follows. The "Guardians of the Great Feathers" put the crown on the King's head,⁽²⁾ and the country's representatives, the "Great Ones of Upper and Lower Egypt", are presented with bread. The scene of the resurrection of Osiris is again acted. Horus embraces

(1) Sethe, Dram. Texte II, l. 56, p. 166.

(2) Sethe, op. cit., II, ll. 92-5, pp. 204.

his father, who is inherent in the kni-breastdress in order that they two may exchange their vital powers, their Kas, before one rules in this world, and the other ascends to heaven in order to live and reign in the hereafter. (1)

But apart from the episode of the kni-embrace, there seems to be an outstanding contradiction about the Djed-pillar, since in one case it represents Osiris and in the other Seth. The Egyptians were not disturbed by this contradiction so long as the result aimed at, in this case the resurrection of Osiris, would be attained in the long run. The same sort of contradiction, we have seen, occurred in the rite of "Bringing the Foot" at the close of the daily ritual, for in it Pharaoh played at once the rôle of a god and that of a devil, but the purpose of the ritual - the purity of the god's shrine - was nevertheless achieved. Moreover, when the Djed-pillar was equated with Seth the outcome was the triumph of Osiris: Seth carried him, meaning that he was beaten and forced to bow to Osiris, who had to live that his son might live, and that vegetation might flourish. The resurrection of Osiris and the succession of Horus are events which tend to maintain the machinery of life in running order, and it is this sense of the stability of things which is the deep meaning of all the ceremonies in which the

(1) Ibid., II, pp. 201; 203; 221; 223; Supra, p. 325.

Djed-pillar was to be raised, and which probably gave the verb dd - "to be stable or constant" its ideographic sign  , regardless of what that actually represented, - a tree, a bundle of papyrus stems or any other kind of plant. Thus the Djed seems to have been so heavily charged with cosmic and political meanings as to account for the apparent contradictions we may notice about the Egyptians' beliefs regarding this episode (1) of the Play.

(1) Frankfort, Kingship, p. 178; Holmberg, op. cit., pp. 64-5.

CHAPTER XXI

FOR THE SAKE OF FERTILITY

In the Tale of the Widower's Daughter the peasant father wanted to kill his daughter and bury her in his field that he might obtain a plenteous crop. The corpse of Osiris similarly supplied the land with fertility, and it is said that his blood effected this by being mixed with the earth.⁽¹⁾ Not only Osiris' blood but also that of his enemies had such a fertilizing power. Osiris' enemies were sacrificed to him in the form of animals at a feast called the feast of "The Great Hoeing of the Earth in Busiris, on that night when the earth is hoed with their blood;" i.e. the blood of the Typhonian animals.

"They came, the partisans of Seth, when they had transformed themselves into goats. Then they were slain before those gods, and blood fell down from them."⁽²⁾

Seth was considered the god of drought, and was punished by the priests in his animalistic forms. The Sethian animals were at

(1) Brugsch, DG 467.

(2) Cf. Plut., De Iside 353 B-C where there is a reference to the blood of the ungodly beings used for increasing the fertility of the vineyards.

(3) Bk Dead I8; cf. Grapow, Religiöse Urkunden, II, pp. I27, I28, 8; Wainwright, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

first purposely terrorized as being considered the cause of the drought, "but if the drought still persists," Plutarch says, (1) "they consecrate and sacrifice them, as if, forsooth, this were a means of punishing the deity...." The sacrifice of the Sethian animal was the sacrifice of Seth himself.

This practice of the sacrifice of a god was not confined to Seth; it was applied to the King, long before the Sed-festival took its well-known form, when there was fear of death and famine. Moreover, in the Graeco-Roman folktales references were common about such a sacrificed king. (2) It is related that a certain Cypriot suggested to a king named "Busiris", in whose time there was a famine which had already lasted for nine years, that every year a foreigner should be sacrificed to Zeus to prevent famine, and that "Busiris" therefore sacrificed the Cypriot, but that when he attempted to sacrifice Hercules (who was in Egypt at that time and, having come from the Libyans, a people whom the Egyptians considered as Typhonian, (3) was not only a foreigner but a Typhonian one) Hercules turned the tables upon him. (4) It is quite probable

(1) De Iside 380 D.

(2) Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVIII, 15, 14 = Moret, La mise à mort du dieu, p. 48.

(3) Scharff, op. cit., pp. 28 ff.

(4) Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, II, 5, 11; Ovid, Ars amatoria, I, 647-52 = Sphinx III, 132-35.

that this human sacrifice is a vestige of one of the most ancient rites in the Sed-festival, the killing of the King after a period of years for the good of the people and of kingship.

Another story is told of "Bocchoris",⁽¹⁾ in whose reign the country was said to have been afflicted by an epidemic and a famine. When he asked Amun for an oracle, the god told him to "expel the diseased and thus the land would produce fruit."⁽¹⁾ In another tradition from Manetho the King was said to have been burnt alive and it was "Sabacon", his successor, who killed him, just as according to Herodotus, the brother of "Sesostris" attempted to burn the latter alive in order to succeed him. In this particular case the king escaped from the fire, although two of his sons were lost in it.⁽²⁾

It has been suggested by Wainwright that Nitocris, a queen of the Old Kingdom (VIth Dyn.) was fair or reddish, which colour made her a Typhonian creature, and that she was perhaps of Libyan extraction, since her name Nt-ikr.ti, "Neith is perfect" or the like⁽³⁾ is a name made in honour of the goddess Neith, goddess of the Western Delta bordering on Libya. She also was said to have

(1) Josephus, Contra Apionem, I, 306. The name "Bocchoris" should not properly be applied to the Egyptian King of the 24th Dyn., whose name B3k n rn.f ought to be Graecized as Bocchorinis.

(2) Herodot., II, 107; Diodorus I, 55, 57. Cf. Herodot., II, 137, 140 where the brother of "Sesostris" is called "Anysis". Wainwright, op. cit., pp. 34-9.

(3) Mallet, op. cit., pp. 83, 108 ff.

ended her six years' reign by burning herself in fire. Herodotus (II, 100) says of her that in a banquet, after she had been crowned Queen of Egypt, she took revenge on and drowned those who had murdered her brother, the late King. "When she had done this," adds Herodotus, "she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes." It is probable, so thinks Wainwright, that, besides the desire for avoiding retribution, she intended to endow the land with fertility and prosperity by sacrificing herself as a (1) Typhonian.

Actually the prototype of this violent action, as far as the fertility of Nature is concerned, is the murder and drowning of Osiris by Seth. The god's death did not mean so much the death of Nature, as her impending revivification through her embrace of the martyr's corpse. Hence the death and resurrection of Osiris was to be celebrated in Egypt by Pharaoh and his people, and in later times all drowned persons were apotheosized like Osiris with no distinction. The sacrifice of such monarchs as "Bocchoris", "Nitocris" and "Sesostris" may be interpreted as a resurgence of an antique barbarous custom which was afterwards replaced by the more civilised ritual of the Sed-festival, in which Horus' life and reign were renewed in the way discussed above. Osiris underwent the same

(1) Wainwright, op. cit., pp. 41-7.

ritual, and thus Horus and Osiris were proved to be one and the same person. That "Bocchoris", "Nitocris" and "Sesostris" are said to have been Sethian beings burnt for the well-being of Society, finds no support on the monuments or in the people's literature.

If Wainwright is right in his supposition that these rulers were Libyans, and so considered as Typhonian people, who according to Plutarch, had to be sacrificed in order to avoid disastrous results of pestilence and famine, their sacrifice is identical with that of the Sethian creatures that was practised long before pre-dynastic times and was observed in historic times in such Osirian rituals as those of the "Coronation", the "Erection of the Djed-pillar" and the "Opening of the Mouth."

The sacrifice of the King in these fabulous tales ⁽¹⁾ aimed at the same two things: firstly the renewal of kingship in the succession of a son or a brother of the sacrificed king, and secondly the investment of the land of Egypt with fertility. Such a belief naturally, as time went on, underwent several changes to rid it of its barbarous character so as to become in the end, as other beliefs did, a folk-ceremony, whose deep significance the participants had themselves long forgotten. The violent death and mutilation of Osiris and the necessary sacrifice of Seth, enacted and observed in

(1) Diodorus I, 45 and 88.

ancient Egyptian funerary rites and ceremonies, were still being reflected until recently in modern Egypt in the popular pageant of Abu Naurūz. In this festival, described by such travellers as Lane and Klunzinger, the ruler did not expose himself to murder or fire, but was replaced by a Mock King. It was celebrated on the New Year's Day, when the Nile started rising with the rising of Sirius (when Typhonian men - according to Plutarch - were burnt alive in the city of Eileithyia)⁽¹⁾ by the modern Egyptian Christians down to the nineteenth century. The revivification of Nature was by these means expected to take place, and was celebrated in the festival of Abu Naurūz, just as the resurrection of Nature was celebrated in Pharaonic times in the Coronation Ceremony and in the Khoiak-festival.

In the modern festival, the Mock King, Abu Naurūz, plays the part of the governor of the village, or in Cairo, the ruler of the country, and is allowed a few day's government, usually three days. At length represented by his dress, he is condemned to death by burning, and from the ashes creeps out the peasant who played the part.⁽²⁾ In the Khoiak-festival, Osiris' old effigy is burnt and replaced by a new one, this

(1) Plut., De Iside 380 D: "But this was performed publicly at special times in the dog-days."

(2) Klunzinger, Upper Egypt, p. 185.

signifying the death of Osiris and his resurrection, the symbol of a new reign in the other world and a harbinger of a new era on earth. The popular side of the pageant of Abu Naurūz takes the form of a procession of a band of musicians, preceded by the mounted figure of the Mock Ruler in his flowing gown. Behind him men, women and children walk in holiday mood - dancing, singing or smoking their shubuk-pipes. But of particular interest is their carrying of bunches of newly plucked dates, (fig.159) - the year's plentiful crop, bearing with it the hope of another at the next Carnival of Abu Naurūz.

Hence the fertility of the land, to which the people are indebted for their lives, is procured as soon as the sky-god, Seth, or a Sethian animal as a scapegoat, or particularly a king, has been burnt, and the ashes or the blood mixed with the earth.

At this point we must observe Wainwright's investigation into Seth's fertility-power. That Seth was not a sterile god finds ample proof in Egyptian tradition, and he seems to have been well known for his fecundity, usually marked with obscenity in the literature of the New Kingdom, his lewd behaviour being considered as an insult or a curse:

"Curse: The ass (Seth) shall lie with him; the ass shall lie with his wife; his wife shall lie with his son." (1)

(1) Spiegelberg, Rec. trav. XXV, 195, l. 15; 196.

But to Seth's fertility in relation to the earth there is no reference in Egyptian texts. On the contrary he was always considered as an evil god who brought about drought on earth and storm in the sky. He is not a rain deity, as Egypt did not depend for her existence on rain, but rather on the Nile. In this respect he is unlike Zeus the Greek god of thunder and rain. In the Osirian cycle he was an enemy of Osiris and was sacrificed, not to impart fertility to the earth, but to be destroyed as a slain offered animal or a burnt beast. Burning in Egypt seems to have been regarded in early and even late times, like drowning, as a means of punishing sinful persons.

A good and early example of punishment for adulterers by burning and drowning is found in the Westcar-Papyrus story of Ubaone, which was supposed to have been told by one of Khufu's sons to his father to divert him. The story runs as follows:

A chief lector-priest called Ubaone accompanied Pharaoh Nebka to Memphis, and stayed with him there for a whole week. While the priest was absent, his wife, helped by a servant, committed adultery with a certain common man. The gardener broke the news to his master, who gave him a tiny crocodile of wax, and ordered him to throw it behind the adulterer when he entered the water of his garden-pool. The magic crocodile, having been thrown into the water, was transformed into a living creature. It caught the bathing adulterer and kept him

alive at the bottom of the pool for a whole week, until Ubaone and Pharaoh returned. Having enquired into the crime, Pharaoh passed his sentence: the adulterer had to be drowned again by the crocodile and the wife to be burnt, her ashes to be scattered subsequently on the river. ⁽¹⁾

That fire, as a means of death, is abominable to the Egyptian mind is readily understood from the Egyptian text known as the "Dispute of the one who is tired of life with his soul":

"Behold, my soul thwarteth me, and I hearken not unto it, dragging me to death ere I be come to it, and casting me upon the fire in order to burn me" ⁽²⁾

The burning of someone annihilates him completely; it is a horrible idea, as it shatters his sincere hopes for a future life. ⁽³⁾ So in the Turin Magical Papyrus (No. 135/35) the magician says, "I shall throw fire on Busiris (the burial-place of Osiris) and reduce Osiris to ashes!" ⁽⁴⁾ But mostly it is the enemies of Osiris who were burnt to death. The pilgrims to the tomb of Osiris

(1) Erman-Blackman, Literature, pp. 37-8; Lefèvre, Romans et contes égyptiens, pp. 74-7; Mackenzie, D.A., Egyptian Myth and Legend, pp. 142-43.

(2) Erman in Abh. der Berliner Akademie, 1896; cf. ____-Blackman, op. cit., p. 86; Junker, Pyramidenzeit, p. 164.

(3) Cf. Bk Dead 17, ll. 126-27.

(4) Cf. Hopfner, op. cit., I, p. 99.

at Abydus made a figure of Seth out of red (Typhon's colour) wax, put it in a black net, cut it to pieces with a stone knife and then burnt it. (1) Such was the doom of priests who committed murder in the temple of Amun and of murderers in general. (2) In folklore the same expedient is used against murderers, disloyal wives and culpable rivals. In the folk-tale of the Lemon-girl, the servant who had usurped her mistress' place and married her prince "had to pronounce her own sentence, was burnt, and her ashes were dispersed in the wind." In the other version, like Bata's wife, she was "torn into little bits." Ivan, the Sacristan's Son, whose prototype is Bata, as their sufferings and transformations were essentially identical, punished both Cleopatra, his wife, and the Sultan, by burning them.

Wainwright gives an early example from the Old Kingdom. He maintains that Nitocris burnt herself so that the whole land of Egypt might obtain fertility, as she was a Typhonian queen and a fertility-goddess. His authority is Herodotus, whose words he ingeniously tries to support by Egyptian traditions, which are still obscure. The Queen committed suicide according to Herodotus

(1) Junker, Onurislegende, p. 151.

(2) Cf. Schäfer in Klio, VI, 291-92.

"thereby to escape vengeance."⁽¹⁾ The other examples are late ones derived from Plutarch, and cited by other classical authors like Herodotus and Diodorus, who should always be quoted with great reserve, and collated with Egyptian evidence.⁽²⁾

Plutarch's statement that red men were burnt in Eileithyia may be doubtful, and may have been taken by him from some source outside Egypt. Representations of sacrificial bulls do not agree with Plutarch, when he says,

"The Egyptians, because of their belief that Typhon was of a red complexion, also dedicate to sacrifice such of their neat cattle as are of red colour, but they conduct the examination of these so scrupulously that, if an animal has but one hair black or white, they think it wrong to sacrifice it."⁽³⁾

(1) II, 100.

(2) Griffiths, G., JEA XXV, 226.

(3) De Iside 363 B.

Even the Festival of Abu Naurūz seems to have been introduced into Egypt in the form described by Wainwright from a Mediterranean country like Greece or Turkey, and celebrated to bring about the same magical effect - the fertility of the land. A parallel to it, a modern Greek spring custom, may be quoted here in the words of R.M. Dawkins, The Modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus, in JHS XXVI, 201-02:

"A man is dressed as king and escorted with music. With him is a boy carrying a wooden bottle and a cup, who gives wine to each householder, receiving in return a gift. They are accompanied by boys dressed as girls. The king then mounts a two-

The Egyptian fertility-god is Min, who was later absorbed by Osiris. The fertility-power inherent in Osiris' body is transferred to the earth, not through sacrificing him, but through entombing him in the earth, after his succumbing in his struggle with Seth. Osiris is not in this case a sky or rain-god.⁽¹⁾ He is an earthly being to whom the resurrection of Nature is due, as we have seen in the ceremonies and festivals connected with royalty and the land. In these his myth is very

= wheeled cart and is drawn to the church. Here two bands are formed of married and unmarried men respectively, and each tries to make the king throw upon themselves the seed which he holds in his hands. This he finally casts on the ground in front of the church. He is then thrown into the river, stripped of his skin clothes, and then resumes his usual dress. The throwing into the river is clearly a rain charm."

Cf. Margaret Murray, Anc. Egypt (1921) 79-81.

(1) Egypt did not depend for her life on rain, but rather on the god's water which was regarded as his exudations, moisture or sweat. Even some classical writers notice this combination of the physical and mythical. Tibullus (c. 60-19 B.C.) praising Osiris in one of his Elegies says:

"For what cause, Father Nile, or in what lands may I declare that thou hast hid thy head?
Because of thee thine Egypt never sues for showers, nor does the parched blade blow to the Rain-giver.
Thou art sung and worshipped, as their own Osiris by the barbarous folk brought up to wail the ox of Memphis."

(Tibullus, I, VII, 25-8-ICL).

often alluded to. Its pattern may roughly be sketched as follows:

- (1) A struggle between the two brothers Osiris and Seth for the crown of Egypt.
- (2) The death of Osiris and his dismemberment.
- (3) Lamentation of Osiris by his two sisters Isis and Nephthys and their search after his limbs.
- (4) Reassembling the limbs and resurrecting the god with water i.e. the resurrection of the Spirit of the New Year, the Vegetation-deity or the Corn-God.
- (5) A sham fight and general rejoicings.

These episodes of the myth, which are preserved by the oldest written traditions, were dramatised in the national festivals of Egypt celebrated there on the New Year's Day throughout the Pharaonic times, and abroad in the Graeco-Roman Empire, and are still preserved by the Christmas folk-lore of Europe.⁽¹⁾ In all parts of England they formed the main plot of the numerous versions of the "Mummers' Play", which was a short comic play acted mostly by villagers, down to the beginning of this century at Christmas time

(1) It has been stated by classical writers that Osiris travelled as far as India eastwards, and the Istros River (the Danube) Northwards (Diodorus I 27). Archaeological finds have proved the propagation of Osiris' cult all over Europe and England too. Erman, Religion der Agypter, pp. 419-40.

in order to amuse the people. But this sort of entertainment cannot possibly hide the mythological beliefs of the pagan past in such eastern countries as Egypt, whose civilisation was carried far by the inhabitants of the Mediterranean lands to different parts of the Continent, including Britain. Arthur Raistrick in his interesting epitome of the Mummers' Play⁽¹⁾ is entirely silent on the striking analogy between this play which we shall study here and the Osiris legend of Egypt, and which would add definitely to the contribution made by Rendel Harris to the geographical, historical and religious relations, past and present, between ancient Egypt and his home-country.⁽²⁾

(1) In The Yorkshire Dalesman, No. 1, Vol. 9 (April 1947), pp. 24-9.

(2) The same Egyptian pattern, outlined above, was followed literally by the ancient Greek dramatist in the "Sacer Ludus" or "the ritual dance," which centres round the struggle between Summer and Winter (the latter part being acted by a black-faced person) and the triumph of one over the other. It is acted in modern times in Greece in such places as Thrace, the home of Dionysus (Egyptian Osiris). H. Coote Lake, Mummers' Play and the "Sacer Ludus", in Folklore, Vol. XLII-1931, London, 1931, pp. 142 ff.

The drama celebrated by the villagers of Viza in Thrace in spring and described by R.M. Dawkins, op. cit., pp. 191-206 follows the same Egyptian pattern outlined above.

- (1) The masqueraders start their performance with dancing.
- (2) One of them (καλογέρος) with a bow shoots another (καλογέρος) while the latter is sitting on a phallus, and prepares a grave for him. He also flays the dead body and cuts it up with a wooden knife.
- (3) A girl (koritsia) pretends to be his wife, bends over him and laments him. He is also bewailed by the other characters.

In the prologue of the play, Father Christmas introduces the Dramatis Personae, the "Guisers" of Northumberland and

- = (4) The dead man suddenly comes back to life.
- { (5) At the end of the play, they shout, "καὶ τοῦ χρόνου (i.e. Next year also)!"
- (6) A plough is prepared by a *κατσικίλος* and a *κατσικέλα* his wife, two Gipsies with blackened faces and hands, drawn round the village by the two girls (*Koritsia*) and guided by the "*kalogheroi*". Behind them, a man scatters seed. Then all shout:

"May wheat be ten piastres the bushel!

Rye five piastres the bushel!

Barley three piastres the bushel!

Amen, O God, that the poor may eat!

Yea, O God, that poor folk be filled!"

Meanwhile presents are collected and evening is spent joyfully.

This custom, as Dawkins shows, is a survival of the cult of Dionysus (*Ibid.*, pp. 203-04). In classical times the identification between Dionysus and Osiris was very close. It was based on a common trait in both deities, i.e., fertility with which they endowed people and earth and which they celebrated in their phallophoria, and also on a common experience of death by dismemberment and ultimate resurrection enacted in their Mysteries. (see Moret, *La mise à mort du dieu*, p. 17). The Greek origin of the British Mummers' Play is thus certain.

Scotland, in their masquerading dresses. Their comic clothes aroused the ridicule of Alexander Pope who described them as:

"Peel'd, patch'd, and piebald, linsey-woolsey brothers.

Grave mummers! Sleeveless some, and shirtless others."

(Dunciad, III, 115)

King George⁽¹⁾ is introduced by a maid-servant, sometimes called Betty and sometimes Bessy. This character sweeps the ground with a broom before the performance starts, not so much to clean it, as ceremonially to purify it. This magical power of the broom-spirit is definitely a pre-Christian rite,⁽²⁾ and it was an important part of the daily ritual performed by Pharaoh in the god's temple in ancient Egypt, with exactly the same magical function. Yet though the sweeping of the floor was always carried out at the end of the rite of "Bringing the Foot" in Egypt, it is done at the beginning of the Mummers' Play. However, in some versions it was also acted at the end of it. The similarity between the two lies in the fact that the broom wards off evil demons from the place, and that the rite is carried out by a character not necessarily of inferior social status, like the Little Devil, Dout (Do out). In ancient Egypt Pharaoh dragged

(1) See p. 404 bottom.

(2) Lake, op. cit., p. 148.

the broom, and in the different versions of the Mummers' Play, characters other than the maid-servant, e.g. Father Christmas, may sweep the floor. Both personages exorcise evil spirits that may haunt the place and pollute it. In other words they equate themselves with evil demons, and by this sweeping they make their exit, with the broom-spirit, one out of the temple, and the other by flying up the chimney, one by dragging the broom, and the other by riding on it. The broom, in the Egyptian ritual, represents the sacred plant of Thoth, the purification god, and in the folk-ceremony, a spirit with the same magical task as Thoth. In modern Egypt the broom plays the same rôle in the people's customs. A housewife may sweep the floor just after the visit of a person whose further appearance in the house is undesirable, as if he were an evil spirit.

The maid-servant sings:

"Redd (= tidy) sticks, redd steels,
Here comes in pack of feels (fools),
A pack of feels behind the door,
Step in King George,⁽¹⁾ and clear the way.
Make room for gallant sport,
For in this house we must resort.

(1) Or St. George, but in late 17th century times St. George lost his prestige owing to the Puritan outbreak, and has never since been replaced by "King George." Tiddy, R.J.E., The Mummers' Play, Oxford, 1923, pp. 81-2.

Resort, sport, and merry play,

(1) Step in, King George, and clear the way." (2) (Fig.140)

Then both King George and the Turkish Knight (sometimes introduced by Father Christmas) boast of their physical (3) strength and challenge each other.

Then a fight with wooden swords takes place after a hot argument between St. George, or King George, and a soldier variously called Captain Thunderbolt, the "Turkish Knight", the "Knight of Turkey" or the "Black Prince of Paladine" (in other versions "Paradise") (4) or "King of Egypt" (5) (fig.141).

The King is usually killed in the fight (fig.142). And just as the stm-priest (Horus), in the rite of "Opening the Mouth",

(1) In other versions "Father Christmas."

(2) A variant of the last four lines in the version of Longborough, Gloucestershire:

"Give me a room to sport
That in this house we may resort,
Resort our merry play.
Step in the King of Egypt and clear the way."

(3) "It was I," King George may add, "that fought that fiery dragon and brought him to a slaughter and by those noble deeds I won the King of Egypt's daughter" - a reference to the Oriental legend of St. George and the Dragon. Tiddy, op. cit., pp. 185-86; 189; 193-94.

(4) Tiddy, op. cit., p. 236.

(5) Tiddy, op. cit., p. 225.

is frightened and weeps in his sleep because of the murder of his father Osiris, and longs to see him, so the prologue-speaker, amid the lamentations of his fellow-mummers, recognises in the murdered King his own father.

A doctor (one of the performers) is called.

"Is there any noble doctor to be found,

To raise the dead, to heal the wound,

And to raise this young man up from the ground?"⁽¹⁾

He is gifted with medical skill as well as magical power: he can cure such diseases as "itch, pitch, palsy and gout," and he can bring to life again an old magpie after its head has been severed and its body thrown in a ditch.⁽²⁾ But what is particularly interesting to our study is the doctor's ability to cure a dismembered person with miraculous water, or by his "wonderful" drops, or his "bottle", after reciting some nonsensical magical words (fig. 143). Thus the resurrection of the dead, or the dismembered and mutilated, can be effected by the bath-attendant and magician, Thoth⁽³⁾ of Britain.

(1) Tiddy, op. cit., p. 201.

(2) Cf. Dedi the magician, who, before King Khufu (Cheops) could separate the heads of a goose, a duck and an ox from their bodies and then, by his magic, bring the severed parts back together, thus bringing the animals again to life. Erman-Blackman, Literature, pp. 42-3.

(3) Cf. p. 58.

After the resurrection of the champion, the gathering starts merrymaking, and the epilogue of the play is spoken by a fool, who holds a club and a ladle in his hands, and collects presents (fig.144; cf. fig.145).

The Play ends with a song conveying good wishes to all for the New Year:

"Our play is at an end, and now we'll taste your cheer,
We wish you a merry Christmas and a happy New Year."

and Bessy adds,

"And your pockets full of brass,
(1)
And your cellars full of beer."

(1) Margaret Tynedale, Legends and Folklore of Northumbria, 1932, pp. 108-12.

A variant version reads:

"Ladys and Gentlemen give the Christmass boys what you please a pot of your good ale would make us whisel and sing money in Xmas box is a very fine thing. Roast Beef and plum pudding and Xmas pie who likes that better than old Father Xmas and I, I, I, I, I, I, I, I, I." Tiddy, op. cit., p. 194.

List of Abbreviations

Acta Or.	Acta Orientalia.
Alte Or.	Der Alte Orient.
Anc. Egypt	Ancient Egypt, continued as Ancient Egypt and the East.
Ann. Serv.	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte.
Arch. f. Rel.	Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
Bibl. égyptol.	Bibliothèque égyptologique.
Bk Dead	Book of the Dead.
Bull. Inst. fr.	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
CCG	Cairo Museum, Catalogue Général.
CT	Buck, de, The Egyptian Coffin Texts. Speleers, Textes des cercueils du moyen empire égyptien.
DG	Brugsch, Dictionnaire géographique.
Egn. Rel.	Egyptian Religion.
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
LCL	The Loeb Classical Library.
Leps. ,Denk.	Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.
Mém. Inst. fr.	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du caire.
Mém. Miss. fr.	Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au caire.

P.	Papyrus.
Porter and Moss	Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.
Proc. SBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
Pyr.	Sethe, Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte.
Rec. trav.	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.
Urk.	Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums, ed. G. Steindorff.
Wb.	Erman-Grapow, Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache.
ZAS	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.

Bibliography

Abubakr, A. M. J., Untersuchungen über die Ägyptischen Kronen, Glückstadt, 1937.

Amélineau, E., Le tombeau d'Osiris, Paris, 1899.

Ammianus Marcellinus.

Amir, M. el, The Cult of "Hryw" at Thebes in the Ptolemaic Period.
(JEA XXXVII.)

Antoniadi, E.-M., L'astronomie égyptienne depuis les temps les plus
reculés jusqu'à la fin de l'époque
alexandrine, Paris, 1939.

Aphanassieff, A.N., Les contes et légendes populaires russes, Berlin,
1922.

Apollodorus, Bibliotheca.

Arrian, Anabasis of Alexander, Bk V. (LCL.)

Athenaeus. (LCL.)

Baly, T.J.C., Notes on the Ritual of Opening the Mouth. (JEA XVI.)

Barnes, The Rise of Christianity, 1947.

Beauverie, M.-A., Description illustrée des végétaux antiques du
Musée égyptien du louvre. (Bull. Inst.
fr. XXXV.)

Bénédite, G., Le temple de Philae, Mammisi, Paris, 1893-95. (Mém.
Miss. fr. XIII.)

Bernard, J.H., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel
according to St. John, Edinburgh, 1928.

Birch, S., Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at
Alnwick Castle, London, 1880.

Bissing, F.W.von, and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-
woser-re (Rathures) . I-3. Berlin, 1905-
28.

Blackman, A.M., The Funerary Papyrus of ^cEnkhefenkhons. (JEA IV.)

Blackman-Fairman, A Group of Texts Inscribed on the Façade of the Sanctuary in the Temple of Horus at Edfu. (Estratto da Miscellanea Gregoriana Raccolta di scritti pubblicati nel I Centenario della fondazione del Museo Egizio (1839-1939).)

Blackman, Luxor and Its Temples, London, 1923.

_____, Myth and Ritual in Ancient Egypt. (Myth and Ritual, London, 1933.)

Blackman-Fairman, The Myth of Horus at Edfu - II. (JEA XXIX.)

Blackman, Osiris or the Sun-god? A Reply to Mr. Perry. (JEA XI.)

_____, Purification (Egyptian). (Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Edinburgh, X.)

_____, Righteousness (Egyptian). (Ibid.)

_____, The Rite of Opening the Mouth in Ancient Egypt and Babylonia. (JEA X.)

_____, Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt. (Rec. trav. XXXIX.)

_____, Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt. (Proc. SBA XL.)

_____, The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual. (ZAS L.)

_____, -Fairman, The Significance of the Ceremony HWT BHSH in the Temple of Horus at Edfu. (JEA XXXV-XXXVI.)

Blackman, Some Remarks on the Clay Sealing Found in the Tomb of Hemaka. (Or. Chr. Anal. XVII.)

_____, The Stela of Nebipusenwosret. (JEA XXI.)

_____, The Temple of Bīgeh, Le Caire, 1915. (Services des antiquités de l'Égypte. Les temples immersés de la Nubie.)

Blackman, W.S., The Fellāhīn of Upper Egypt

Bolte, J., und Polívka, G., Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm, Leipzig, 1930.

Borchardt, L., Jahre und Tage der Krönungsjubiläen. (ZAS LXXII.)

_____, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a'-hu-Re^G I-2, Leipzig, 1910-13.
(Wissenschaftl. Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, I4, 26.)

Bock of Common Prayer, 1549. (The First Prayer-Book of King Edward VI.)

Boreux, Ch., Antiquités égyptiennes, Paris, 1932.

Bouriant, N., Deux jours de fouilles à Tell el Amarna. (Mém. Miss. fr. I.)

Breasted, J. H., Ancient Records of Egypt, Chicago, 1906-07.

_____, Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt, London, 1912.

_____, A History of Egypt, London, 1906.

_____, De Hymnis in solem sub Rege Amenophide IV conceptis, Berlin, 1894.

Brewer, E.C., A Dictionary of Phrase and Fable, London.

Brugsch, H., Die Aegyptologie, Leipzig, 1891.

_____, Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte, Leipzig, 1879.

_____, Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch, Bd. I-7, Leipzig, 1867-82.

_____, Matériaux pour servir à la reconstruction du calendrier des anciens égyptiens, Leipzig, 1864.

_____, Reise nach der grossen Oase el Kharqeh in der Libyschen Wüste, Leipzig, 1878.

_____, Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypten, Leipzig, 1885-88.

_____, Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegypticarum. Altaegyptische Inschriften gesammelt, verglichen,

übertragen, erklärt und autographiert von H.
Brugsch I-6, Leipzig, 1883-91.

_____, Ueber die vier Elemente in altägyptischen Inschriften.
(ZMS VI.)

Bruyère, B., Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-5),
3ème partie, Le Caire, 1939.

Bucher, P., Les textes des tombes de Thuthmosis III et d'Aménophis
II. (Mém. Inst. fr. IX.)

Buck, A. de, The Egyptian Coffin Texts, I-4, Chicago, 1935-51.

_____, De egyptische Voorstellingen betreffende den Oerheuvel,
Leiden, 1922. (Reviewed by Hall, H.R., JEA X.)

_____, De zegepraal van het licht - Voorstellingen en symbolen
uit den oudegyptischen zonnendienst, Amsterdam,
1930.

Budge, E.A.W., The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming Forth
by Day, London, 1898.

_____, The Book of Opening the Mouth, London, 1909.

_____, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, London, 1913.

_____, The Egyptian Heaven and Hell, London, 1905.

_____, An Egyptian Reading Book for Beginners, London, 1898.

_____, Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British
Museum, London, 1910.

_____, From Fetish to God in Ancient Egypt, London, 1934.

_____, The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum, London, 1912.

_____, Legends of the Gods, London, 1912.

_____, Osiris in the Egyptian Resurrection I-2, London, 1911.

Burmester, Egyptian Mythology in the Coptic Apocrypha. (Orientalia
VII.)

Calverley, A. M., and Gardiner, A. H., The Temple of King Sethos I

at Abydos I-3, London, and Chicago, 1935-38.

Campbell, C., The "Gardener's Tomb," (Sen-nofer's) at Thebes, Glasgow, 1908.

_____, The Miraculous Birth of King Amon-Hotep III and Other Egyptian Studies, London, 1912.

Carter, H., and Mace, A.C., The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen discovered by the late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, London, 1923.

Chabas, F.J., Le cèdre dans les hiéroglyphes. (Rev. arch. IV.)

_____, Le papyrus magique Harris, Châlon-sur-Saône, 1860.

Chambers, E.K., The Mediaeval Stage, Oxford, 1903.

Champollion, J.F., Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie.

Notices descriptives conformes aux manuscrits autographiés rédigés sur les lieux par Champollion le jeune, Paris, 1844.

Chassinat, E., Étude sur quelques textes funéraires de provenance thébaine. (Bull. Inst. fr. III.)

_____, La mise à mort rituelle d'Apis. (Rec. trav. XXXVIII.)

_____, Le Mammisi d'Edfou, Le Caire, 1910.

_____, Les papyrus magiques 3237 et 3239 du Louvre. (Rec. trav. XIV.)

_____, Le temple d'Edfou I-10, Paris, 1897-. (Mém. Miss. fr. X, XI, XXVII.)

_____, Le temple de Denderah I-3, Le Caire, 1934-35.

Chicago. The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications:

XXIII. Medinet Habu III. The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse" and Minor Records of Ramses III. By Epigraphic Survey, Chicago, 1934.

Allen, T. G., Occurrences of Pyramid Texts with Cross Indexes of These and Other Egyptian Mortuary Texts, Chicago, 1950.

Cooke, G. A., A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ezekiel.

Cooke, H. P., Osiris. A Study in Myth, Mysteries and Religion, London, 1931.

Crum, W.E., A Coptic Dictionary, Oxford, 1939.

Daressy, G., Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898-1899), Le Caire, 1909. (CCG 5.)

_____, Une inondation à Thèbes sous le règne d'Osorkon II. (Rec. trav. XVIII.)

_____, Le lieu d'origine de l'arbre ACH. (Ann. Serv. XVII.)

_____, La porte de Baltim. (Ann. Serv. XVII.)

_____, Un sarcophage de Gaou. (Ann. Serv. IV.)

Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, London, 1908.

Davies-Gardiner, The Tomb of Amenemhêt, London, 1915.

Davies, The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes, New York, 1930.

_____, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rê at Thebes, New York, 1944.

_____, The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes (No. I5). (JEA XI.)

Dawkins, R.M., The Modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus. (JHS XXVI.)

Dawson, W. R., Studies in the Egyptian Medical Texts - II. (JEA XIX.)

Dennis, J. T., The Burden of Isis, London, 1910.

Deveria, Th., Bas relief égyptien relatif à des textes de Plutarque De Iside et Osiride. (Bull. Société impériale des antiquaires de France, Paris, 1858.)

Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.

The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford, 1950.

Diels, H., Fragmente der Vorsokratiker (1934).

Diodorus, Bks I and III. (LCL.)

Drioton, É., Les dédicaces de Ptolémée Evergète II sur le deuxième pylône de Karnak. (Ann. Serv. XLIV.)

_____, Le mot égyptien signifiant "principe" et "maxime." (Ann. Serv. L.)

_____, Vandier, J., Les peuples de l'orient méditerranéen 2. L'Égypte, Paris, 1938. (Clio I; 2.)

Drioton, "Sarcasmes contre les adorateurs d'Horus," (Mélanges Syriens offerts à R. Dussaud, 495-506, Paris, 1939.

_____, Le texte dramatique d'Edfou, Le Caire, 1948. (Ann. Serv. Cahier II.)

_____, Le théâtre égyptien, Le Caire, 1942.

Dubois, Ch., L'olivier et l'huile d'olive dans l'ancienne Égypte. (Revue de Philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes, Paris, 1925-27, t. 49; t. 53.)

Ducros, H.A., L'arbre ASH des anciens égyptiens. (Ann. Serv. XIV.)

Dümichen, J., Altägyptische Tempelinschriften in den Jahren 1863-1865, Leipzig, 1867.

_____, Geographische Inschriften altaegyptischer Denkmäler an Ort und Stelle gesammelt und mit Übersetzung und Erläuterungen herausgegeben III, Leipzig, 1885.

_____, Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der Theanischen Nekropolis, Leipzig, 1885.

Ebers, G. und Stein, L., Papyrus Ebers, das hermetische Buch über die Arznei-Mittel der alten Aegypter, Leipzig, 1875.

Emmery, W.B., The Tomb of Hemaka, Cairo, 1938.

Encyclopaedia Biblica.

Erman, A. -Ranke, H., Aegypten

Erman, Die Agyptische Beschwörungen des grossen Pariser Zauber-papyrus. (ZAS XXI.)

_____, Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie, Berlin, 1909. (Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. 1909.)

_____, Gebete eines ungerecht Verfolgten und andere Ostraka aus den Königsgräbern. (ZAS XXXVIII.)

_____, Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele, Berlin, 1896.

_____, A Handbook of Egyptian Religion, trans. Griffith, A. S., London, 1907.

_____, Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen, Berlin, 1911.

_____, Life in Ancient Egypt, trans. Tirard, London, 1894.

Erman-Blackman, The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians, London, 1927.

Erman, Die Religion der Agypter, ihr Werden und Vergehen in vier Jahrtausenden, Berlin und Leipzig, 1934.

Erman-Grapow, H., Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache I-6, Leipzig, 1926-31. Belegstellen I ff., Leipzig, 1935ff.

Falkry, A., A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes. (Ann. Serv. XLII.)

Faulkner, R. O., The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind, Bruxelles, 1932-33. (Bibl. Aeg. III.) (JEA XXII-XXIII.)

_____, The "Cannibal Hymn" from the Pyramid Texts. (JEA X.)

Felix, Municius, Octavius.

Firth, C. M., and Quibell, J. E., Excavations at Saqqara. The Step-Pyramid, Le Caire, 1935-36.

Frank-Kamenetzki, I., Über die Wasser- und Baumnatur des Osiris. (Arch. f. Rel. XXIV.)

Frankfort, H., Ancient Egyptian Religion, New York, 1948.

_____, The Birth of Civilisation in the Ancient Near East,
London, 1951.

_____, The Cemeteries of Abydos: Work of the Season 1925-26.
(JEA XIV.)

Frankfort-De Buck, The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos, London,
1933.

Frankfort, The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man, Chicago,
1948.

_____, Kingship and the Gods, Chicago, 1948.

_____, The Problem of Similarity in Ancient Near Eastern Religions,
Oxford, 1951. (The Frazer Lecture, 1950.)

Gabra, S., Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermopolis Ouest (Touna
el-Gebel), Le Caire, 1941.

Gardiner, A.H., The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Leipzig,
1909.

_____, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, I-2, Oxford, 1947.

_____, The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I, Oxford, 1931.

_____, Egyptian Grammar, Being an Introduction to the Study of
Hieroglyphs, Oxford, 1927.

Gardiner-Sethe, K., Egyptian Letters to the Dead, London, 1928.

Gardiner, (Review) The Golden Bough; Adonis, Attis, Osiris,
Studies in the History of Oriental
Religion, by J.G.Frazer. (JEA II.)

_____, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. (Third series,
London, 1935.)

_____, Horus the Behdetite. (JEA XXX.)

_____, Hymns to Amon from a Leiden Papyrus. (ZAS XLII.)

_____, Kjj-bw »foreigners«. (Miszellen.) (ZAS XLIII.)

_____, Late Egyptian Stories. (Bibl. aeg. I.), Bruxelles,
1932 ff.

_____, Mesore as First Month of the Egyptian Year. (ZAS XLII.)

_____, New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt. (JEA I.)

_____, Notes on the Story of Sinuhe. (Rec. trav. XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI.)

_____, ONNOΦPIΣ. (Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis, Akademie-Verlag Berlin, 1950, II/2.)

_____, Some Personifications. II. HU, "Authoritative Utterance." SIA, "Understanding." (Proc. SBA XXXVIII.)

_____, The word mCd3 and its various uses. (Brief Communications.) (JEA XXVI.)

Garnot, J.S.F., Deux vases égyptiens représentant une femme tenant un enfant sur ses genoux. (Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard, II, 1949.)

Gayet, A., Le temple de Louxor I, Paris, 1894. (Mém. Miss. fr. XV. I.)

Glanville, S.R.K., The Legacy of Egypt, Oxford, 1947.

Colenischeff, W., Die Metternichstele in der Originalgrösse, Leipzig, 1877.

Gomperz, Th., Les penseurs de la Grèce, Paris, 1904.

Grapow, H., Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen, vom Denken und Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1924

_____, Religiöse Urkunden, Leipzig, 1915 ff.

_____, Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Ägyptischen. (Alte Or. XXI.)

Grenfell, B.P., and Hunt, A.S., The Oxyrhynchus papyri, London, 1898-1922.

Gressmann, R., Tod und Auferstehung des Osiris. (Alte Or. XXIII.)

Griffith, F. Ll., and Sir Herbert Thompson, The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, London, 1904-09.

Griffith, The Inscriptions of Siût and Dér Rifeh, London, 1890.

_____, Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith, London, 1932.

Griffiths, J. G., The Meaning of ND and of ND-HR. (JEA XXXVII.)

_____, Review of "The Sky-Religion in Egypt. Its Antiquity and Effects." By G.A.Wainwright. (JEA XXV.)

Guieyssé, P., Rituel funéraire égyptien, chapitre 64^e, Paris, 1876.

Hassan, Selim, Excavations at Giza, Vols I-6, Cairo, 1929-51.

_____, Hymnes religieux du moyen empire, Le Caire, 1930.

_____, The Sphinx. Its History in the Light of Recent Excavations, Cairo, 1949.

Heliodorus, Aethiopica. Theagenes and Charicleia.

Herodotus, Bk II. (CL.)

Heuglin, von Th. v., Auszug aus einer coptisch-arabischen Handschrift in Abun-béd bei Gondar. (ZIS 1868.)

Hölscher, U., The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III - The Excavation of Medinet Habu, Vol. III - Chicago, 1941.

Holmberg, Maj Sandman, The God Ptah, Lund, 1946.

Homer, Odyssey.

Hopfner, Th., Plutarch über Isis und Osiris I-2, Prag, 1940-1941.

_____, Sexualleben

Horapollo, The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo, trans. Boas, G., New York, 1950.

Hornblower, Osiris and His Rites. (Man XXXVII.)

Horrack, Ph. de, Notice sur le nom égyptien du cèdre. (Bibl. égyptol. XVII. Rev. arch. IX.)

Jacquemin, M., Cèdre ou Sapin? (Kémi IV.)

Jéquier, G., Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes, Neuchâtel, 1946.

_____, Matériaux pour servir à l'établissement d'un dictionnaire d'archéologie égyptienne. (Bull. Inst. fr. XIX.)

Jones, Ernest, Essays in Applied Psycho-Analysis, Vol. II.
Essays in Folklore, Anthropology and Religion, London, 1951.

Junker, H., Ein Doppelhymnus aus Kom Ombo. (ZAS LXVII.)

_____, Das Götterdekret über das Abaton, Wien, 1913. (Denkschr. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. 56:4.)

_____, Die Götterlehre von Memphis < Schabaka-Inschrift >.
Berlin, 1940. Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 59: I, 2.)

_____, Die Grabungen der Universität Kairo auf dem Pyramidenfeld von Giza. (Archaeologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches. Deutsches Institut für Ägyptische Altertumskunde. Mitteilungen. Augsburg, 1932.)

_____, Die Onurislegende, Wien, 1917. (Denkschr. d. Kaiserl. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 59: I, 2.)

_____, Pyramidenzeit, Zürich-Köln, 1949.

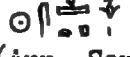
_____, Die Stunderwachen in den Osirismysterien, Wien, 1910.

Josephus, Contra Apionem.

Juvenal. (LCL.)

Kamāl, A., Borollos . (Ann. Serv. IX.)

_____, Le pain de nebaq des anciens égyptiens. (Ann. Serv. XII.)

Kamāl, M., The Stela of  in the Egyptian Museum.
(Ann. Serv. XXXVIII.)

Kay, D. M., The Apology of Aristides the Philosopher. (Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Add. Vol., ed. Allan Menzies, Edinburgh, 1897.)

Kees, H., Agypten (Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch), Tübingen, 1928.

_____, Zu den ägyptischen Mondsagen. (ZAS LX.)

_____, 'Apotheosis By Drowning.' (Griffith Studies.)

_____, Der Götterglaube im alten Agypten, Leipzig, 1941.

_____, Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Agypter. Grundlagen und Entwicklung bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches, Leipzig, 1926.

Keimer, An Ancient Egyptian Knife in Modern Egypt. (Anc. Egypt 1928. III.)

_____, L'arbre TR.T  . Est-il réellement le saule égyptien (Salix Safsaf FORSK.)? (Bull. Inst. fr. XXXI.)

_____, Interprétation de quelques passages d'Horapollon, Le Caire, 1947. (Ann. Serv. Cahier V.)

_____, Materialien zum altägyptischen Zwiebelkult. (Egn. Rel. 1933. I.)

_____, Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Agypten, Hamburg, 1924.

_____, Sprachliches und Sachliches zu $\epsilon\lambda\kappa\omega$, Frucht der Sykomore. (Acta Or. VI.)

Klunzinger, C.B., Upper Egypt: Its People and Its Products, London, 1878.

Kor'an, al, trans. Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Lahore, 1920.

_____, trans. the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya, Qadian, India, 1947.

Lacau, P., Sur un des blocs de la reine (o JV) provenant du III^e pylône de Karnak. (Ann. Serv. XXVI.)

_____, Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire I-2, Le Caire, 1904-06. (CCG II.)

_____, Textes religieux. (Rec. trav. XXVI, XXVII, XIX, XXXI.)

Lake, H.C., Mummers' Play and the "Sacer Ludus." (FOLK-LORE XLII.)

Lane, E.W., The Modern Egyptians, London, 1944. (Everyman's Library.)

Lange, H.O., and Schäfer, H., Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches I-4, Berlin, 1902-25. (CCG 6.)

_____, Der magische Papyrus Harris, herausgegeben und erklärt, Khvn, 1927 (Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-fil. Meddelelser. 14:2.)

_____, Ein liturgisches Lied an Min. (Sitzungsb. Berlin (München, etc.), Berlin, 1927.)

Lanzoni, R.V., Dizionario di mitologia egizia I-5, Torino, 1881-86.

Lauer, J.P., Fouilles à Saqqarah. La pyramide à degrés I-2, Le Caire, 1936. (Fouilles de Saqqarah.)

Lefébure, E., L'arbre sacré d'Héliopolis. (Sphinx V.)

_____, Le sacrifice humain d'après les rites de Bûsiris et Abydos. (Sphinx III.)

_____, La vertu et la vie du nom. (Melusine VIII, No. 10.)

Lefèbvre, G., Bata et Ivan. (Chronique d'Égypte 1950.)

_____, La fête du Nil à Achôris. (Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alex. XVIII.)

_____, Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique, Paris, 1949.

_____, Rouge et nuances voisines. (JEA XXXV.)

_____, Le tombeau de Petosiris, Le Caire, 1923.

Legrain, G., Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes, Paris, 1894.

Lepsius, C.R., Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Atlas, Abth. I-6, Berlin, 1849-59.

_____, Das Totenbuch der Aegypter nach dem Hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin, Leipzig, 1842.

_____, Über die Götter der vier Elemente bei den Aegyptern. (Berlin: Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1856.)

Lewis, B., Land of Enchanters, London, 1948.

Loret, V., Étude sur quelques arbres égyptiens. (Rec. trav. II.)

_____, Les fêtes d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak. (Rec. trav. III-V.)

_____, Quelques notes sur l'arbre ACH. (Ann. Serv. XVI.)

_____, Recherches sur plusieurs plantes connues des anciens égyptiens. (Rec. trav. VII.)

Lucian, Dea Syria. (LCL.)

Lumbroso, G., L'Egitto al tempo dei Greci e dei Romani, Roma, 1882.

Macadam, M.F.L., The Temples of Kawa, London, 1949-52.

Magnus, L.A., Russian Folk-Tales (trans. from Russian), London, 1916. (Second Impression.)

Mahaffy, J.P., A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, London, 1898.

Mahalli, al, and Suyuti, al, Tafsir al-Jalalain, 1300 A.H.

Māja, Ibn, Sunan al-Mostafa.

Mālik b. Anas, Kitāb al Muwatta.

Mallet, D., Le culte de Neit à Sais, Paris, 1888.

Marie-Louise, B., The Goddesses of the Egyptian Tree Cult. (JNES VI.)

Margaret Kent, Fairy Tales from Turkey, Routledge, 1946.

Margaret Murray, Nawruz, or the Coptic New Year. (Anc. Egypt 1921.)

Margaret Tynedale, Old Northumbria, 1932.

Mariette, A., Abydos. Description des fouilles exécutées sur l'emplacement de cette ville I, Paris, 1869.

_____, Denderah. Description générale du grand temple de cette ville. Planches I-4, Paris, 1870-73.

_____, Les mastaba de l'ancien empire. Fragment du dernier

ouvrage de A. Mariette, publié d'après
le manuscrit de l'auteur par G.
Maspero, Paris, 1882.

_____, Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq, Paris, 1871-
1877.

Maspero, G., Bibliothèque égyptologique 4.

_____, Catalogue du Musée Égyptien de Marseille, Paris, 1889.

_____, Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne, Paris, 1882.

_____, The Dawn of Civilization: Egypt and Chaldaea, trans.
McClure, M. L., London, 1901.

_____, Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient, Paris, 1909.

_____, Hymne au Nil, Le Caire, 1912.

_____, Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre, Paris, 1875.

_____, Les monuments égyptiens du Musée de Marseille. (Rec.
trav. XXXVII.)

Maternus, Julius Firmicus, De errore profanarum religionum,
Fr. trans. Heuten, Gilbert, Bruxelles,
1938.

Merer, S.A.E., The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary
I-4, New York, 1952.

_____, The Religion of Ancient Egypt, London, 1949.

Möller, G., Die Beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museum zu Edinburgh,
Leipzig, 1913.

_____, Das Hb-śd des Osiris nach Sargdarstellungen des neuen
neuen Reiches. (ZMS XXXIX.)

Moncrieff, P.D., Scott-, Paganism and Christianity in Egypt,
Cambridge, 1913.

Moret, A., Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique,
Paris, 1902.

_____, et Davy, G., Des clans aux empire, Paris, 1923.

_____, La légende d'Osiris à l'époque thébaine d'après

l'hymne à Osiris du louvre. (Bull. Inst. fr. XXX.)

_____, La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte, Paris, 1927.

_____, Monuments divers: D 3 - Table à libation. (Ann. Mus. Guimet XXXII.)

_____, Mystère égyptiens, Paris, 1927.

_____, The Nile and Egyptian Civilization, London, 1927.

_____, Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte d'après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Séti I^{er} à Abydos, Paris, 1902.

Morgan, J.J.M.de, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. Vol. II. Kom Ombos. Vienne, 1895.

Miller, W.M., Egyptian Mythology, Boston, 1918.

Murray, M.A., The Osireion at Abydos. With Sections by J.G. Milne and W.E. Crum, London, 1904.
(Eg. Research Account 9.)

Nagel, G., Set dans la barque solaire. (Bull. Inst. fr. XXVIII.)

Nasa'i, al, Kitāb Sanan, 1312 A.H.

the
Nash, W.L., The Origin of the Mediaeval Representations of Weighing of the Soul after Death. (Proc. SBA XL.)

Naville, E., Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden zusammengestellt und herausgegeben. Einleitung+Bd I-2, Berlin, 1886.

_____, The Festival Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887-1889), London, 1892.

_____, The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh and the Land of Goshen, (1885), London, 1887.

_____, The Temple of Deir el Bahari I-6, London, 1895-1908.
Egypt Exploration Fund. Memoirs I3,
I4, I6, I9, 27, 29.)

_____, Textes relatifs au Mythe d'horus recueillis dans le
temple d'Edfou, Geneva et Basle, 1870.

Nelson, H., The Rite of "Bringing the Foot" as Portrayed in
Temple Reliefs. (JEA XXXV.)

Newberry, P.E., and Griffith, El Bersheh, London, 1895.

Oaksmith, J., The Religion of Plutarch, London, 1902.

Otto, E., Thot als Stellvertreter des Seth. (Orientalia VII.)

Ovid, Ars amatoria.

Palanque, Ch., Le Nil à l'époque pharaonique, Paris, 1903.

Parker, R.A., The Calendars of Ancient Egypt, Chicago, 1950.

Parmentier, L., Recherches sur le traite d'Isis et d'Osiris de
Plutarque, Bruxelles, 1913.

Parthey, G., Plutarch über Isis und Osiris, Berlin, 1950.

Pausanias. (LCL.)

Peek, W., Der Isishymnus von Andros und verwandte Texte, Berlin,
1930.

Petrie, W.M.F., Dendereh 1898. (Egypt Exploration Fund. Memoir.
no. I7.)

_____, Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe, London, 1889.

_____, Osiris in the Tree and Pillar. (Anc. Egypt 1928 II.)

_____, Palace of Apries (Memphis II), London, 1909.

Philestr

Photius, Bibliotheca.

Piankoff, A., Le « cœur » dans les textes égyptiens depuis l'Ancien

jusqu' à la fin du Nouvel Empire, Paris,
1930.

_____, Les deux papyrus »mythologiques« de Her-Ouben au Musée
du Caire. (Ann. Serv. XLIX.)

Piehl, K., Inscriptions hieroglyphiques recueillies en Égypte.
Sér. 2: I-2, Leipzig and Uppsala, 1890-
92.

_____, Stèle de l'époque de Ramsès IV, conservée au Musée de
Boulac. (ZAS XXII.)

Pierret, P., Études égyptologiques I, Paris, 1873.

Pirard de la Boullaye, L'étude comparée des religions

Pleyte, ., Sur un papyrus inédit du British Museum. (Rec. trav.
III.)

Pliny, Natural History. (LCL.)

Plutarch, Moralia V: De Iside et Osiride, trans. Rabbitt, F.G.,
London, 1936. (LCL.)

Porphyry, De Abst

Porphyry, De antro nympharum.

Porter, B., and Moss, R. L. B., Topographical Bibliography of Ancient
Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and
Paintings I-7, Oxford, 1927-52.

Price, F.G.H., A Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the
Possession of F.G. Hilton Price, London,
1897-1908.

Frisse, A.C.Théod. E., Monuments égyptiens, Paris, 1847.

Ptahmes Stela No. 88= Musée de Lyon. (Bull. Inst. fr. XXV.)

Quibell, J.E., Hierakopolis I. Plates of Discoveries in 1898.
With notes by W.M.F.D. London, 1900.
(Egypt: Research Account. Mem. 4.)

_____, Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu, Cairo, 1908.

Rambaud, A., *La russie épique, étude sur les chansons héroïques de la russie*, Paris, 1876.

Redā, M.R., *Tafsīr al-Kor'ān al-Ḥakīm*, Cairo.

Rendel Harris, *Jesus and Osiris* (Woodbrooke Essays, No. 5), Cambridge, 1927.

Renouf, P. Le P., *Nile Mythology*. (Proc. SRA XIII.)

Roeder, G., *Der Tempel von Dakke*, rev. ed., I-2, Le Caire, 1930.

Robichon, C. et Varille, A., *Description sommaire du temple primitif de Médamoud*, Le Caire, 1940.

Robiou de la Trébonnais, F.M.L.J., *Les variations de la doctrine osiriaque depuis l'âge des pyramides jusqu'à l'époque romaine*. (Actes du huitième Congrès international des Orientalistes, Leide, 1892.)

Rosellini, L., *I Monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia*, Pisa, 1832-1844.

Ross, W.D., *The Works of Aristotle*, Oxford, 1924.

Rundle Clark, R.T., *The Legend of the Phoenix*, in the University of Birmingham Historical Journal, Vol. II, No. 1, 1949.

Rusch, A., *Die Stellung des Osiris im theologischen System von Heliopolis*, Leipzig, 1924. (Alte Or. XXIV.)

Sander-Hansen, C. E., *Ueber die Bildung der Modi im altgyptischen*, København, Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Bd. I, Nr. 3, 1941.

_____, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg des Anchnesneferibre*, København, 1957.

Schäffer, H., *Die Mysterien der Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostris III*, Leipzig, 1904.

_____, *Das Osirisgrab von Abydos und der Baum pk*. (ZAS XLI.)

_____, Zu Pap. Ebers 97, Z. 13 ff. (Missellen.) (ZAS XLIV.)

_____, Die sogenannte „Stele de l'excommunication“ aus Napata. (Klio VI.)

Scharff, A., Die Ausbreitung des Osiriskultes in der Früzeit und während des alten Reiches. (Sitzungsb. Berlin (München, etc.), IV.)

Schiaparelli, E., Il libro dei funerali degli antichi Egiziani I-2, Torino and Roma, 1882-90. (Reale Accademia dei Lincei.)

Schott, S., Das Löschen von Fackeln in Milch. (ZAS LXXIII.)

Seneca, Naturales questiones. (LCL.)

Sethe, K., Aegyptische Lesestücke, Leipzig, 1924.

_____, Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums I-4, Leipzig, 1908-22.

_____, Zur altägyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge das in der Fremde war, Leipzig, 1912. (Untersuchungen V. 3.)

_____, Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne, Berlin, 1928.

_____, Zur ältesten Geschichte des Ägyptischen Seeverkehrs mit Byblus und dem Libanongebiet. (ZAS XLV.)

_____, Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis. Eine Untersuchung über Ursprung und Wesen des Ägyptischen Götterkönigs, Berlin, 1929. (Abhandl. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. 1929: 4.)

_____, Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens, Leipzig, 1905. (Untersuchungen III.)

_____, Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen, I-2, Leipzig, 1928. (Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Altertumsk. Ägyptens IO.)

_____, Der Name des Phœnix. (ZAS XLV.)

_____, Osiris und die Zeder von Byblos. (ZAS XLII.)

_____, Die Sprüche für das Kennen der Seelen der heiligen Orte.
(Totb. Kap. I07-I09. III-II6.) (ZAS LIX.)

_____, Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexten I-4, Glückstadt and Hamburg, 1935-39.

_____, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens, Leipzig, 1896 ff.

_____, Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Agypter, Leipzig, 1930. (Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes I8: 4.)

_____, Urkunden der I8. Dynastie. Historisch-biographische Urkunden I-4, Leipzig, 1906-09. (Urk. 4.)

_____, Die Zeitrechnung der alten Aegypter im Verhältnis zu der der andern Völker, Berlin, 1920.

Sharpe, S., Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum, London, 1836-1855.

_____, Egyptian Mythology and Egyptian Christianity, London, 1863.

Solinus, Polyhistor

Sourdille, C., Hérodote et la religion de l'Égypte, Paris, 1910.

_____, La durée et l'étendue du voyage d'Herodote en Égypte, Paris, 1910.

Speleers, L., Comment faut-il lire les textes des Pyramides égyptiennes? Paris, 1934.

_____, Textes des cercueils, Bruxelles, 1946.

_____, Textes des Pyramides égyptiennes, Bruxelles, 1934.

Spiegelberg, W., Eine neue Legende über die Geburt des Horus. (ZAS LIII.)

_____, Die Tefnachthosstele des Museums von Athen. (Rec. trav. XXV.)

Strabo, Geography. (LCL.)

Suetonius, Divus Vespasianus

Suys, É., Études sur le conte du fellah plaideur, Roma, 1933.

Tacitus, Histories.

Thévenot, de, Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant, Paris, 1664.

Tibullus. (LCL.)

Tiddy, R.J.E., The Mummers' Play, Oxford, 1923.

Vandier, J., La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne, Le Caire, 1936.

_____, La religion égyptienne, Paris, 1944.

Vikentiev, V., Le conte égyptien des deux frères et quelques histoires apparentées. (Bull. Fac. Art. Cairo XI. II.)

_____, La haute crue du Nil et l'averse de l'an 6 du roi Taharqa, Le Caire, 1930.

_____, När-Ba-Thai. (JEA XVII.)

_____, Rayonnement des anciennes légendes à travers le monde.
(Revue des conférences françaises en
Orient, 1945-45.)

Virey, Ph., La religion de l'ancienne Égypte, Paris, 1910.

_____, La tombe des vignes à Thébès. (Rec. trav. XXII.)

_____, Le tombeau d'Amenemhet, Paris, 1891. (Mém. Miss. fr. V.)

_____, Le tombeau de Pehsukker. (Mém. Miss. fr. V.)

Wainwright, G.A., The Sky-Religion in Egypt, Cambridge, 1938.

Weigall, A., A Short History of Ancient Egypt, London, 1934.

Weill, R., Le champ des roseaux et le champ des offrandes dans
la religion funéraire et la religion générale,
Paris, 1936.

_____, Bases, méthodes et résultats de la chronologie égyptienne,
Paris, 1926.

Wensinck, A.J., The Ideas of the Western Semites Concerning the
Navel of the Earth, Amsterdam, 1916.

Wiedemann, A., Die Religion der alten Agypter, Münster i. W. 1890.
(Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der nicht-
christlichen Religionsgeschichte III.)

_____, Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, London, 1897.

_____, Der Fisch Änt und seine Bedeutung. (Sphinx XIV.)

_____, Die Toten und ihre Reiche im Glauben der alten Agypter.
(Alte Or. II.)

Wilkinson, J.G., The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.
A New Edition, revised and corrected by S.
Birch I-3, London, 1878.

Wilson, J.A., Illuminating the Thrones at the Egyptian Jubilee.
(JAOS LVI.)

Winlock, H.E., Bas-Reliefs from the Temple of Rameses I at Abydos,
New York, 1921.

_____, The Temple of Ramses I at Abydos, New York, 1937.

Wolf, W., Der Berliner Ptah-Hymnus. (ZAS LXIV.)

The Yorkshire Dalesman, No. I, Vol. 9 (April 1947.)

Zandee, J., De hymnen aan Amon van papyrus Leiden I 350,
Leiden, 1948.

APPENDIX

I. THE WIDOWER'S DAUGHTER

(Summary)

A father who has just become a widower wishes to marry his own daughter. Unwillingly the girl agrees, but asks the father, because of the impending wedding, to build a new house. As the carpenters are busy putting up a tree-trunk as the central pillar of the house, the girl secretly gives them money and asks them to hollow out the trunk, and to fix a door in it that cannot be discovered from outside, in order that she may conceal herself from her father inside the hollowed pillar. If he does not find her - so thinks the girl - then he will surely have the house destroyed and the building-wood thrown into the neighbouring river. The carpenters agree to the girl's wish, and now everything happens as she has foreseen. The father cannot find his daughter anywhere and has the house destroyed and the building-wood thrown into the water, including the pillar containing the hidden girl. The waters, however, carry the girl to a foreign land, where the pillar is washed on to the shore.

Now comes the son of the king of that land strolling on the shore. He discovers the tree-trunk lying on the shore and, without anticipating anything, has it used as a pillar for his new house, which is just being built. The pillar is in fact set up in the prince's bedroom. When the prince is asleep in the night, the girl comes out of the pillar and fetches some food for herself, which she finds on the table. This expedient she repeats the following night. However on the third night when the girl comes out from her hiding-place in the usual manner, her eyes fall on to the king's son; she takes pleasure in his appearance and

rouses him with a kiss. Then the girl relates to him everything that has happened to her. The king's son takes her for wife, and to the young couple is later born a boy with golden hair.

After some time the girl's father comes to the king's house disguised as a beggar, and finds lodging there. In the night he kills the golden-haired child and puts the blood-stained knife into the mother's pocket, whereupon she is accused of murdering the child. As punishment her eyes are put out, her breasts cut off, the dead child is laid in her lap, and thus she is taken into the forest and left to her fate. Now the wife cries so sadly that the good God sends a raven from heaven to inquire what has happened. As the raven does not, however, bring any proper information, God sends a dove. The latter brings to the Lord a true report of the event and is given the commission to heal the unfortunate woman, to revivify the dead child, and, in a word, to fulfil miraculously every wish of the mother. The healed woman finds her husband again, and her innocence is established.

II. THE PEASANT'S DAUGHTER

(Summary)

A peasant who will suffer if the harvest fails is resolved to kill his daughter because he has been told that if he does so, and buries the corpse in the field, rich crops will ensue. The girl flees from her father, who follows her with a dagger in his hand till she comes into the neighbourhood of a river. On the bank of the river there is a tree. The girl climbs up the tree and conceals herself in its foliage, and the father gives up the pursuit. The king of the land who has been hunting with his retinue sits under the tree to rest. The girl is discovered, the king finds her beautiful, and wants to marry her. As the girl, however, is poorly clad, the king proceeds home with his following in order to fetch clothes for the bride, who remains meanwhile sitting on a branch of the tree. Then comes another girl, an ugly girl, who obtains information about the incident, climbs up the tree, pushes the royal bride into the river below, sits in her place, and waits for the king. The latter returns with the beautiful clothes, and mistakenly marries the ugly girl. Meanwhile the true royal bride has transformed herself in the river into a fish-woman ("Russalka"); the king orders her to be caught and to be put in a bowl in the palace. The queen recognises in the fish-woman her rival, and persuades her consort to kill the "Russalka". From her bones, which have been thrown into the court-yard, grows a wonderful tree, the foliage of which greets the king whenever he comes home, and which droops there during his weekly absences. Thus the queen recognises her rival in the tree also, and orders it to be felled. A spindle emerges from the splinters collected by an old woman, and transforms itself back into

the royal bride, who is able to defeat her rival and regain her rightful position.

III A. THE THREE LEMONS (Le tre cetre)

A king had a son, who was the apple of his eye, but who, to his distress, could not even bear the thought of a woman. Once he sat at table and cut his finger, so that two drops of blood fell on the fresh cheese which he had before him. And while he was looking at the beautiful mixture of red and white, the thought came to him that he should seek a lady who might be as white as the cheese and as red as the two drops of blood. He set out but searched the world in vain, finally reaching an island where he found a little old mother to whom he told his story. The old woman bade him continue his search, as he would in the end be successful. A second little mother told him the same. He came to a third one, who was sitting on a wheel and feeding a herd of donkeys with comfits. She gave him three lemons and with them a pretty knife, and bade him go home to his kingdom, where he would find a well in a wood. She told him what he should do with the lemons, and what would happen then. He found the well, whereupon he took the knife and cut one of the lemons; immediately there appeared the most beautiful woman, who said, "Give me water to drink!" Being completely absorbed in looking at her, he did not hear her, and at the same moment she disappeared again from before him. The same happened with the second lemon. When cutting the third one he made haste to give her the water and at the same moment found himself embracing a girl of great beauty as white as fresh cheese, as red as blood. He then said, "I will go home and select dresses and receive you with great splendour. Climb for a while up this oak-tree, which forms an arbour with its boughs."

Meanwhile a black and ugly slave-girl was sent to draw water from the well. She perceived the fairy in the mirror of water, thought that it was her image. Amazed at what she supposed to be her own beauty she broke her jar, and hastened home. Her mistress gave her a cask instead, but the same thing happened again. She was harshly reproached, and took a leather bag to fill. Distracted again at apparently seeing herself once again in such great beauty, she took a pin out of her hair and punctured the bag so that the water poured out from a thousand openings. The fairy now began to laugh loudly. The maid servant shouted, "Ah! So it is thou who hast led me astray! Yet what art thou doing here, O beautiful girl?" The fairy told her everything, to which the Black One answered "Come! I will comb and prepare thy hair till thy bridegroom returns." The fairy assented and came down from the tree, but the slave-girl pricked her with a pin in the temple. The fairy shouted, "Pigeon! Pigeon!", changed herself into a pigeon and flew away.

Thereupon the King's son came to take his bride home, and was very indignant when he found the Black girl. She finally succeeded in persuading him, however, to consider her the right one and to take her home. Great preparations were made for the wedding feast; cattle were butchered and everything was prepared for the meal. All of a sudden there came a beautiful pigeon to the kitchen window and said, "O cook in the kitchen, what does the King do with the Black Bride?" The cook did not heed it. But it came a second and a third time and asked him, he finally went upstairs to the bride and told her all about it. The girl understood what had happened and the

cook went off and seized it and killed it. After he had poured hot water over it in order to pluck it he threw the water containing some of the bird's feathers out over a tree. A lemon-tree sprouted three days later and grew on that spot.

The King, seeing this tree from the window, asked how it had come there, whereupon the cook told him the whole story. The King ordered that it should be taken care of and that nobody should touch it for fear of penalty. Some days later three lemons appeared, exactly similar to those which the King had received from the old woman. He plucked these and took them to his room. He had a big pot put there with water, took the knife again, and did just as he had done in the forest. As he cut the third one the real bride appeared, drank some water and stayed with him, and told him everything. The Black One had to pronounce her own sentence, was burnt, and her ashes were dispersed in the wind.

III B. THE LEMON GIRL

There was once a very walthy king whose generous custom it was, on one day each year, to ordain that one of the fountains before his palace should flow with oil, and another with honey. Now it happened that a poor old woman came to the fountains, and began to fill her jugs from them. The king's son saw her from a window.

"Let us torment her!" he cried, and fitting an arrow into his bow he aimed at one of her jugs and broke it. At this the poor old woman called out.

"My son, what have I done to you that you should break my jug? You may be the son of the king, but you shall fall in love with the Lemon Girl." And then she was gone.

From that moment, and day by day thereafter, the prince grew ever more weak and pale. The king was greatly troubled to see him in such a state.

"What ails you, my son?" he asked.

The prince could only tell him that he was stricken with love for the Lemon Girl, and that he must seek her out, wheresoever she might be. And so a day came when he bade farewell to his mother and father and set forth. After having journeyed for some days he met with an old dervish.

"Peace be with you, my son," said the dervish; "whither are you bound?"

"My peace be upon you, my father. I am in love with the Lemon Girl, and I am trying to find her."

"If that be so," said the dervish, "let me tell you where she may be found. Behind yonder mountain you will come to a rose garden which is hedged

about with thorns. Pluck one of the roses and smell it, saying aloud, 'What a beautiful rose garden! ' A little further on you will find yourself by a stream. Bend down and drink from it, saying aloud, 'What limpid water! ' A little further along still, you will come to a dog and a horse. In front of the dog there is a bundle of hay, and in front of the horse there is some meat. You must change these round, putting the meat before the dog and the hay before the horse. After that you will come upon two gates, one of them open and the other shut. You must shut the gate which is open, and then open the gate which is shut, and go through it. You will find yourself in a great garden, which is the haunt of a demon, and in that garden is a lemon tree, bearing only three lemons on its branches. Pluck the lemons from the tree, and then run from the garden. Only when you have carried the lemons to a place where there is water may you cut them, for, when you do so, from each lemon a girl will come forth who will cry, 'Water! Water! ' and if you do not give her water she will die."

The prince kissed the hand of the dervish and hastened on. Before long he came to the rose garden, and saying aloud, "What a beautiful rose garden!" he plucked a rose from among the thorns and smelt it. After that he came to the banks of the stream, and drank a little water, saying, "What limpid water!" Presently he came to the dog with its hay, and the horse with its meat, and put the hay before the horse and the meat in front of the dog. And then he went on until he saw the two gates. He shut the gate which was open and opened the gate which was shut, and there before him was a great garden. Without losing a moment he did as the

dervish bade him, plucked the three lemons, and started to run from the garden. But the demon had seen him. "Catch him, gate! Catch him!" bawled the demon. The first gate answered: "I have stood open for many years, and nobody would shut me but he: I will not catch him!" "And I, too," said the second gate, "stood shut for years and years. Did you not promise that I should be opened one day? I will not catch him, because he opened me."

Then the demon shouted to the horse and the dog; "Seize him!"

"He gave me hay," said the horse, "and saved me from hunger. I will not seize him!"

"He fed me with meat," said the dog, "and I will not seize him either."

Then the demon called to the stream;

"Drown him, stream, drown him!"

"He drank my water, and praised it, " sang the stream; "'What limpid water!' he said. And as for you, did you not dislike it, and say that it was muddy? I will not drown him!"

So the demon took his last chance, and commanded the rose garden to stop the prince.

"He did not fear my thorns, but called me beautiful, and took one of my roses and smelt it. To be sure I will not stop him!" said the rose garden.

The poor demon could see no help for it, and began to run after the prince, but the stream would not let him pass, and so he was drowned, and the prince was saved.

Before he had travelled far from this place the prince was tempted to cut one of the lemons, and from within it came a girl.

"Water! Water!" she cried, but he could not find any water, and for want of it the girl wilted and died.

After a while he grew impatient.

"I wonder whether there are girls in the other lemons?" he said to himself, and cut open the second. Once more a girl grew out of it, but for lack of water she too faded away.

The prince reproached himself bitterly, and went on until he came to the bank of the river. Then he cut open the third lemon, and as soon as the girl appeared he threw her into the water. There she bathed and drank her fill, and came out of the river looking as beautiful as a full moon. The prince was overjoyed to have found the Lemon Girl at last.

"By your leave, Princess," he cried, "let me return at once to my palace so that I may bring soldiers and musicians to escort you thither."

"Take care that you do not let your mother and father kiss you upon your forehead," said the girl, "because if they do so you will forget me."

The prince gave her his word, and returned with all haste to the palace. His father and mother were so happy to see him again that within a moment they had kissed his forehead, and he had forgotten the Lemon Girl. Meanwhile the Lemond Girl, who was waiting at the riverside, came to the poplar tree. The tree bent down, the girl seated herself upon the very top, and her likeness was mirrored upon the river below.

Now there was a house near the poplar tree, and from this house an Arab maid-servant came to fetch water. She bent down over the bank, and she

saw so lovely a reflection from the tree-top that she began to stare at it in amazement.

"If I am as beautiful as that," she cried, "my lady shall not send me to fetch water again!"

And so saying she smashed her jug, and went straight back to the house.

"Am I not beautiful?" she said, "I have just seen my likeness in the river. I am never going to carry water again."

"Beautiful? You are not beautiful!" cried her mistress mockingly. "Go back to the river, and this time look up, and not down!"

The Arab girl returned to the bank beneath the poplar tree, and stood looking up through the branches.

"Oh, oh, little lady! How did you climb so high? Do take me up with you!" said she.

The Lemon Girl was already wearied of waiting for the prince, and felt that it would be pleasant to talk to someone, so she said, "Bend down, poplar tree!" and the tree bent down, and the Arab girl was soon among the topmost branches. They began at once to chatter to each other, and the charming Lemon Girl related all that had befallen her. Then the Arab girl said:

"Since you are a fairy, what is your talisman?"

"My talisman is my hair pin," said the Lemon Girl.

"If it were pulled from my hair I should be turned into a bird, and fly away."

This gave the Arab girl a cunning idea.

"How would it be, just for once, if I were to wear your pretty clothes and your jewels? Should I not look beautiful? Do let me see!" she begged.

Thinking no harm, the Lemon Girl took off her silken dress, and fastened her diamonds round the other's neck. In this wise they went on gossiping, and after a while the Arab girl said:

"Bend your head, and let me comb your hair." The fairy bent her head, and the crafty Arab girl began to comb. Suddenly she pulled out the magic hair pin, and the Lemon Girl instantly became a bird, and flew about and away. And the Arab girl remained, sitting alone in the tree.

Within a few days the prince all at once remembered the Lemon Girl, and no sooner had he done so than he summoned his soldiers and musicians, and set out to find her. The Arab girl heard the sound of trumpets from her tree and rejoiced.

"Behold!" said she to herself, "they have come to fetch me!"

When the prince came to the tree he stood openmouthed in amazement.

"What has happened to you? What has changed you?" he asked.

"The sun has darkened me, and the wind has blown away my colour. I feared that you had forgotten me and would never come again, and I dimmed the beauty of my eyes with constant weeping."

The prince believed her story, and took her willynilly, back to the palace. When his father and mother saw how ugly she was they cried in grief and anger: "Alas, is this your beloved?" But come what might, the wedding was held, and the Arab girl became the prince's wife.

From that day forth and everyday, a white dove appeared in the palace garden, and said to the gardener: "Gardener, gardener, if the prince sleeps, let his dreams be of oil and honey. But if the Arab girl sleeps, may she dream of evil things, and may that branch wither which I have touched."

So saying she would fly away, and the branch on which she had perched would grow dry and shrivelled.

One day the prince was strolling in the garden, and noticed the withered branches of the trees. He called the gardener to him and asked: "Why have you not looked after these trees?"

And the gardener was very much afraid. He told the prince what had been happening and the prince ordered him to smear the branches of the trees with pitch.

"Let us catch this dove!" said he.

The gardener did as his master bade him, and next day the white dove appeared as usual.

"Let that branch wither which I have touched," she said, and tried to fly away but she was caught fast by the pitch. The gardener took her and carried her to the prince who was charmed, and ordered that a cage should be made for her, and it should hang in his own room. As they carried her into the room she sang joyfully.

But when the Arab girl saw the dove nothing would please her but to have it to eat, and she would give the prince no rest.

"My love, I beseech you not to do this. Let me give you another bird," he said, but no.

"Only the flesh of that very bird will do," she insisted, and at last the prince was forced to take the dove from his room and kill it. In the place where drops of its blood had fallen a great cypress tree grew up, and the Arab girl now began to beg and pray for the wood of the cypress tree.

"Let a cradle be made for my child from the cypress tree, and from no other tree but that!" she clamoured.

The cradle was made, and the cypress was left where it lay, hewn in pieces. Presently a poor woman came to the prince and said:

"Would you give me these branches for my fire?"

And the prince willingly granted them.

The woman carried the pieces of wood to her home, put them down, and went out to market; and while she was away who should come out from the pile of branches but the Lemon Girl. She set to work to sweep and clean, until the house was as fresh as a rose, and then she set about cooking some food. When the poor woman came home she was astonished. She could not recognise her own house. First she went out again, and then, again, she went in. When she had looked all round she called aloud from where she stood:

"In the name of God, are you mortal or fairy? Yourself to me!"

Then the Lemon Girl came out, and kissed the poor woman's hand and told her the whole story.

"Let me be your daughter!" she prayed. The poor woman was willing to take her for her daughter, and so they sat down very merrily to eat the food which the girl had cooked.

Time passed and one day the prince fell sick and it was proclaimed that he was in need of a special kind of broth. Throughout the land people set about cooking broth and taking it to the palace, but however excellently it was made the prince would take only one spoonful and leave the rest.

When this came to the ears of the Lemon Girl she said to the poor woman:

"Little mother, let us also cook some broth and take it to the palace."

"By all means, my darling," said the poor woman, "Let us do as you say, Who knows but the prince may drink it."

So the girl set to work, and when the broth was cooked she took a ring which the prince had given her at the river side, and dropped it into the bowl. Then she gave the bowl of broth to her foster-mother, and told her to carry it to the palace.

When the palace guard saw how poor the woman was they refused to admit her, but the prince heard of this, and gave orders that she should be allowed to enter. So they brought her into his presence, and she set the broth before him. The prince took one spoonful and drank it. Then he took a second spoonful, and there in the spoon was the ring. As soon as he saw the ring he understood everything, and turning to the poor woman, he asked, "Good mother, have you a daughter?" "I have, my prince," she answered. "What are your commands?"

"To-morrow evening," said the prince, "bring her beneath this window. I will let down a basket full of gold. Take out the gold and put your daughter in place of it. Then I will draw up the basket, and you will have the gold in return for your daughter."

"Upon my head be your command, my prince!" said the poor woman, and returned to her home. Next day she led the girl to the threshold of the palace, and when the prince let down from his window a great basket of gold she took out the gold and put her daughter in its stead. When the prince hauled up the basket, out came the Lemon Girl, and they very fondly

embraced each other. Their betrothal was celebrated without delay, and the very next morning the wicked Arab girl was tied to the tails of forty horses, and driven into the mountains, where she was torn into little bits. Then the prince and the Lemon Girl were married, and they lived happily ever after.

IV. THE TALE OF THE SILVER SAUCER AND THE CRYSTAL APPLE

Once a peasant lived with his wife, and they had three daughters: two were finely dressed and clever, but the third was a simple girl; the sisters and the father and the mother as well called her the Little Fool. They hustled the Little Fool, thrust her about this way and that and forced her to work. She never said a word and was always ready to weed the grass, break off lamp-splinters, feed the cows and ducks, and whatever anybody asked for the Little Fool would bring. They had only to say, "Fool, go and fetch this!" or "Fool, come and look here!"

One day the peasant went with his hay to the fair, and he asked his daughters, "What shall I bring as your fairing?"

One daughter asked, "Buy me some red cloth for a sarafan." The other asked, "Buy me some scarlet nankin." But the Fool sat still and said nothing.

Well, after all, the Fool was his daughter, and her father felt sorry for her, so he asked her, "What would you like to have, Fool?"

So the Fool smiled and said, "Buy me, my own father, a silver saucer and a crystal apple."

"What do you mean?" asked the sisters.

"I should then roll the apple on the saucer, and should speak words which an old woman taught me in return for my giving her a loaf of white bread." So the peasant promised, and went away.

Whether he went far or near, whether he took long or short, anyhow he went to the fair, sold his hay, bought the fairings, gave his one daughter the scarlet nankin, the other the red cloth for a sarafan and the Fool a silver saucer and a crystal apple. He came home and he showed them. Both

sisters were overjoyed, sewed sarafans, and mocked the Fool, and waited to see what she would do with her silver saucer and crystal apple. But the Fool did not eat the apple, but sat in a corner and whispered, "Roll, roll, roll, little apple, on the silver saucer, and show me all the cities and the fields, all the woods and the seas , and the heights of the hills and the fairness of heaven."

Then the apple rolled about the saucer; a transparency came over the silver; and, on the saucer, all the cities, one after the other, became visible, all the ships on the seas, and the regiments in the fields, and the heights of the mountains, and the beauties of the sky. Sunset appeared after sunset and the stars gathered in their nocturnal dances: it was all so beautiful and so lovely as no tale can tell and no pen can write.

Then the sisters looked on and they became envious and wanted to take the saucer away from their sister, but she would not exchange her saucer for anything else in the world. So the evil sisters walked about, called out and began to talk. "Oh, my darling sisters, let us go into the wood and pick berries and look for wild strawberries!" So the Fool gave her saucer to her father and herself went into the wood. She wandered about with her sisters, plucked the strawberries, and saw a spade lying on the grass; then the other sisters took the spade and began beating the Fool with it, slew the Fool, buried her under a silver birch, and came back to their father late at night, saying, "The Little Fool ran away from us, we could not find her, we went all over the wood searching for her. We suppose the wolves must have eaten her up." But the father was sorry. She was a Fool, but she was his daughter after all, and so the peasant wept for his

daughter, took the silver saucer and the apple, put them into a coffer and locked them up. And the sisters also wept for her.

Soon a herd came by and the trumpet sounded at dawn. But the shepherd was taking his flock, and at dawn he sounded his trumpet and went into the wood to look for a little lamb. He saw a little hammock beside a silver birch, and on it all around ruby-red and azure flowers and bulrushes standing above the flowers. So the young shepherd broke a bulrush, made a pipe of it, and a wonderful wonder happened, a marvellous marvel: the pipe began of itself to sing and to speak. "Play on, play on, my little pipe. Console my father, console my guiding light, my father, and tell my mother of me, and my sisters, the little doves. For they killed me, the poor one, and for a silver saucer have severed me from light, all for my enchanted apple."

People heard and ran together, the entire village thronged round the shepherd, asked him who had been slain. There was no end to the question. "Good folks all." said the shepherd, "I do not know anything about it. I was looking for a little sheep in the wood, and I saw a knoll, on the knoll flowers, and a bulrush over the knoll. I broke off a bulrush, carved myself a pipe out of it, and the pipe began singing and speaking of itself."

Now it so happened that the father of the Little Fool was there, heard the words of the shepherd, wanted to lay hold of the pipe, when the pipe began singing, "Play on, play on, little pipe: this is my father; console him with my mother. My poor little self they slew, they withdrew from the white world, all for the sake of my silver vessel and crystal apple."

"Lead us, shepherd," said the father, "where you broke off the bulrush." So they followed the shepherd into the wood and to the knoll, and they were amazed at the beautiful flowers, ruby-red, sky-blue, that grew there.

Then they began to dig up the knoll and discovered the dead body. The father clasped his hands, groaned as he recognised his unfortunate daughter, saw her lying there slain, not knowing by whom she had been buried. And all the good folks asked who had been the slayers, who had been the murderers. The pipe began playing and speaking of itself. "O my light, my father, my sisters called me to the wood: they killed me here to get my saucer, my silver saucer, and my crystal apple. You cannot raise me from my heavy sleep till you get water from the Tsar's well."

The two envious sisters trembled, paled, and their soul was in flames. They acknowledged their guilt. They were seized, bound, locked up in a dark vault at the Tsar's pleasure. But the father set out on his way to the capital city. The road was long or short. At last he reached the town and came up to the palace. The Tsar, the little sun, was coming down the golden stair-case. The old man bowed down to the earth and asked for the Tsar's mercy. Then the Tsar, the hope, said, "Take the water of life from the Tsar's well. When your daughter revives, bring her here with the saucer, the apple, and the evil-doing sisters."

The old man was overjoyed, bowed to the earth and took the phial with the living water, ran into the wood to the flowery knoll, and took up the body. As soon as ever he sprinkled it with the water his daughter sprang up in front of him alive, and hung like a dove upon her father's neck.

All the people gathered together and wept. The old man went to the capital city. He was taken into the Tsar's rooms. The Tsar, the little sun, appeared, saw the old man with his three daughters, two tied by the hands, and the third daughter like a spring flower, the light of Paradise in her eyes, with the dawn on her face, tears flowing in her eyes, falling like pearls.

The Tsar looked and was amazed, and was wroth with the wicked sisters. He asked the fair maiden, "Where are your saucer and the crystal apple?"

Then she took the little coffer out of her father's hands, took out the apple and the saucer, and herself asked the Tsar, "What do you want to see, O Tsar my Emperor? Would you like to see your powerful cities, your valorous hosts, your ships on the sea, or the wonderful stars of the sky?" And she let the crystal apple roll about on the silver saucer, and on the saucer one after the other all the towns appeared in their shape; all the regiments with their banners and their arquebuses standing in war-like array, the leaders in front of the lines and the colonels in front of the platoons and the sergeants in front of their companies. And the guns fired and the shots flew, and the smoke wreathed and writhed: it was all visible to the eye. Then again the apple rolled about on the saucer, the crystal on the silver, and the sea could be seen billowing on the shore, and the ships swimming like swans, flags flying, issuing from the stern, and the noise of guns and cannon-smoke arriving like wreathes, all visible to the eye. Then again the apple rolled on the saucer, the crystal on the silver, and the sky was red on the saucer, and little sun

after little sun made its round, and the stars gathered on their dance.

The Tsar was amazed at this wonder.

But the fair maiden was lost in tears and fell down at the Tsar's feet and begged for mercy, saying "Tsar, your Majesty," she said, "take my silver saucer and crystal apple if you will only forgive my sisters, and do not destroy them for my sake."

And the Tsar was melted by her tears and pardoned them at her request.

She for sheer joy shouted out and fell upon her sisters. The Tsar looked round, was amazed, took the fair maiden by the hand, said to her in a kindly voice, "I must for your goodness love your beauty: will you be my wife and the Tsarita of my fair realm?"

"Tsar, your Majesty," answered the fair maiden, "it is your imperial will, but it is the father's will which is law amongst the daughters, and the blessing of their mother. If my father will, if my mother will bless me, I will."

Then the father bowed down to the earth, and he sent for the mother, and the mother blessed her.

"Yet I have one word more for you," said the fair maiden to the Tsar: "Do not separate my kin from me, let my mother and my father and my sisters remain with me."

Then the sisters bowed down to her feet, and said, "We are not worthy!"

"It has all been forgotten, my beloved sisters," she said to them; "ye are my kin, ye are not strangers. He who bears in mind an ill bygone has lost his sight." And as she said this, she smiled and raised her sisters up.

And her sisters wept from sheer emotion, as the rivers flow, and would not rise from the ground.

Then the Tsar bade them rise and looked on them kindly, bidding them remain in the city.

There was a feast in the palace: the front steps glittered and glowed as though with flame, like the sun enwreathed in his beams. The Tsar and the Tsarita sat on a chariot, and the earth trembled, and the people ran up crying out, "Long live the Tsar and Tsarita!"

V DONOTKNOW

Here begins the tale of a grey horse, a chestnut horse and of the wise fallow boy. On the shore of the ocean, in the isle of Buyan, there stood a roasted ox, and behind pounded garlic: on the one side cut your meat, on the other dip deep and eat.

Once upon a time there lived a merchant who had a son, and when the son grew up he was taken into the shop. Now, the first wife of the merchant died, and he married a second.

After some months the merchant made ready to sail to foreign lands, and he loaded his ship with goods and bade his son look after the house well and attend to business duly.

Then the merchant's son asked, "Batyshka, when you go get me my luck!"

"My beloved son," answered the old man, "where shall I find it?"

"It is not far to seek, my luck. When you get up tomorrow morning, stand at the gates and buy the first thing that meets you and give it to me."

"Very well, my son."

So next day the father got up very early, stood outside the gates, and the first thing that met him was a peasant who was selling a sorry, scabby foal - mere dog's meat. So the merchant bargained for it and got it for a silver rouble, took the foal into the court-yard and put it into the stable.

Then the merchant's son asked him, "Well, batyushka, what have you found as my luck?"

"I went out to find it, and it turned into a very poor thing."

"Well, so it really had to be: whatever luck the Lord has given us we must use."

Then the father set sail with his goods into foreign lands, and the son sat on the counter and engaged in trade. He grew into the habit, whether he were going into the shop or returning home, always to go and stand before his foal.

Now his stepmother did not love her stepson, and looked out for fortune-tellers to learn how to get rid of him. At last she found an old wise woman, who gave her a poison and bade her put it under the threshold just when her stepson was coming in. As he came back from the shop, the merchant's son went into the stable and saw that his foal was standing in tears, and so he stroked him and asked "Why, my good horse, do you weep? Why your counsel do you keep?"

Then the foal answered, "Oh, Ivan the merchant's son, my beloved master, why should I not weep? Your stepmother is trying to ruin you. You have a dog: when you go home let it go in front of you, and you will see what will come to it."

So the merchant's son listened, and as soon as ever the dog crossed the threshold it was torn into small atoms.

Ivan the merchant's son never let his stepmother know what he saw through her spite, and set out next day to the shop, whilst the stepmother went to see the soothsayer. So the old woman got a second poison, and bade her put it into the trough. In the evening as he went home, the merchant's son went into the stable; and once more the foal was standing on tip-toes and in tears; and he struck him on the haunches and said,

"Why, my good horse, do you weep? Why your counsel do you keep?"

Then the foal answered, "Why should I not weep, my master, Ivan the merchant's son? I hear a very great misfortune - that your stepmother wishes to ruin you. Look when you go into the room and sit down at the table: your mother will bring you a draught in the glass. Do you not drink it, but pour in out of the window: you will yourself see what will happen outside."

Ivan the merchant's son did as he was bidden and as soon as ever he had thrown the draught out of the window it began to rend the earth; and again he never said a single word to his stepmother; so she still thought that he was in the dark.

On the third day he went to the shop, and the stepmother again went to the soothsayer. The old woman gave her an enchanted shirt. In the evening, as he was going out of the shop, the merchant's son went up to the foal, and he saw that there stood his good horse on tip-toes and in tears. So he struck him by the bridle and said, "Why do you weep, my good horse? Why your counsel do you keep?"

Then the foal answered him, "Why should I not weep? Do I not know that your stepmother is wishing to destroy you? Listen to what I say. When you go home your stepmother will send you to the bath, and she will send the boy to you with a shirt. Do not put on the shirt yourself, but put it on the boy, and you will see yourself what will come out of it."

So the merchant's son went up to his attic, and his stepmother came and said to him, "Would you not like to have a steam bath? The bath is now ready."

"Very well," said Ivan, and he went into the bath, and very soon after the boy brought him a shirt. As soon as ever the merchant's son put it on the boy he that very instant closed his eyes and fell on the floor, as though he were dead. And when he took the shirt off him and cast it into the stove, the boy revived, but the stove was split into small pieces.

The stepmother saw that she was doing no good, so she again went to the old soothsayer and asked and besought her how she should destroy her stepson. The old woman answered, "As long as the horse is alive nothing can be brought about. But you pretend to be ill, and when your husband comes back tell him, "I saw in my sleep that the throat of our foal must be cut and the liver be extracted, and I must be rubbed with the liver; then my disease will pass away. '"

Some time after the merchant came back, and the son went out to meet him.

"Hail, my son!" said the father. "Is all well with you at home?"

"All is well, only mother is ill," he answered.

So the merchant unloaded his wares and went home, and found his wife lying in the bedclothes groaning saying, "I can only recover if you will fulfil my dream."

So the merchant agreed at once, summoned his son and said "Now my son I want to cut the throat of your horse: your mother is ill, and I must cure her."

So Ivan the merchant's son wept bitterly and said, "Oh, father, you wish to take away from me my last luck!" Then he went into the stable.

The foal saw him and said, "My beloved master, I have saved you from the deaths - do you now save me from one. Ask your father that you may go out on my back for the last time to fare in the open field with your companions."

So the son asked his father for leave to go into the open fields for the last time on the horse, and the father agreed. Ivan the merchant's son mounted his horse, leapt into the open field, and went and diverted himself with his friends and companions. Then he sent his father a letter in this wise: "Do you cure my stepmother with a twelve-tonged whip = this is the best means of curing her illness." He sent this letter with one of his good companions, and went himself into foreign lands.

The merchant read the letter, and began curing his wife with a twelve-tongued whip: and she very soon recovered.

The merchant's son went out into the open field, into the wide plains, and he saw horned cattle grazing in front of him.

So the good horse said, "Ivan the merchant's son, let me go free at will, and do you pull three hairs out of my tail: whenever I can be of any service to you burn a single hair, and I shall appear at once in front of you, like a leaf in front of the grass. But you, good youth, go to the herd, buy a bull and cut its throat; dress yourself in the bull's hide, put a bladder on your head, and wherever you go, whatever you are asked about, answer only this one word, 'Idonotknow.' "

Ivan the merchant's son let his horse go free, dressed himself in the bull's hide, put a bladder on his head, and went beyond the seas. On the blue sea there was a ship a-sailing. The ship's crew saw this marvel - an animal which was not an animal, a man that was not a man, with a bladder on

his head and with fur all around him. So they sailed up to the shore in a light boat and began to ask him and to inquire of him. Ivan the merchant's son only returned one answer, "Idonotknow."

"If it be so, then your name must be 'Donotknow.' " Then the ship's crew took him, carried him on board the boat, and they sailed to their King.

May-be long, may-be short, they at last reached a capital city, went to the king with gifts, and informed him of Donotknow. So the King bade the portent be presented before his eyes. So they brought Donotknow into the palace, and the people came up from all parts, seen and unseen, to gaze on him.

Then the king began to ask him, "What sort of a man are you?"

"Idonotknow."

"From what lands have you come?"

"Idonotknow."

"From what race and from what place?"

"Idonotknow."

Then the King put Donotknow into the garden as a scarecrow, to frighten the birds from the apple trees, and he bade him be fed from his royal kitchen.

Now this king had three daughters: the elder ones were beautiful, but the younger fairer still. Very soon the son of the King of the Arabs began asking for the hand of the youngest daughter, and he wrote to the King with threats such as this, "If you do not give her to me of your good will, I will take her by force."

Thid did not suit the King at all, so he answered the Arab prince in this wise, "Do you begin the war, and it shall go as God shall will."

So the Prince assembled a countless multitude and laid siege.

Donotknow shook off his oxhide, took off his bladder, went into the open fields, burnt one of the hairs, and cried out in a grim voice with a knightly whistle. From some source or other a wondrous horse appeared in front of him, and the steed galloped up, and the earth trembled.

"Hail, doughty youth, why do you want me so speedily?"

"Go and prepare for war!"

So Donotknow sat on his good horse, and the horse asked him, "Where shall I carry you - aloft, under the trees, or over the standing woods?"

"Carry me over the standing woods."

So the horse raised himself from the earth and flew over the hostile host. Then Donotknow leapt upon the enemies, seized a warlike sword from one of them, tore a golden helmet from another of them, and put them on himself; covered his face with the visor, and set to slaying the Arab host. Wherever he turned, heads flew: it was like mowing hay. The King and the Princess looked on in amazement from the city wall: "What a mighty hero it must be! Whence has he come? Is it Egóri the Brave who has come to help us?"

But they never imagined that it was Donotknow whom the King had set in the garden as a scarecrow. Donotknow slew many of that host, and even more than he slew his horse trampled down, and he left only the Arab Prince alive and ten men as a suite to see him home. After this great combat he rode back to the town wall and said, "Your kingly Majesty, has my service pleased you?" Then the King thanked him and asked him in as a guest. But Donotknow would not come. He leapt into the open field, sent away his good horse, turned back home, put on the bladder and the bull's hide, and began to walk about in the garden, as before, just like a scarecrow.

Some time went by, not too much, not too little, and the Arab Prince wrote again to the King, "If you do not give me your youngest daughter's hand I will burn up all your kingdom and will take her prisoner."

This also did not please the King, and so he wrote in answer that he would await him with his host. Once again the Arab Prince collected a countless host, larger than before, and he besieged the King from all sides, having three mighty knights standing in front.

Donotknow learned of this, shook off the bull's hide, took off the bladder, summoned his good horse, and leapt to the field. One knight came to meet him. They met in combat, greeted each other and set at each other with their lances. The knight struck Donotknow so doughtily that he could hardly hold on by one stirrup. Then he got up, flew like a youth, struck off the knight's head, seized him, and threw him over, saying, "This is how all of your heads shall fly." Then another knight came out, and it happened likewise with him; and a third came, and Donotknow fought with him for one whole hour. The knight cut his hand and drew blood, but Donotknow cut off his head and threw it with the rest. Then all of the Arab host trembled and turned back. Just then the King, with the Princesses, was standing on the town wall; and the youngest Princess saw that blood was flowing from the valiant champion's hand, took a kerchief off her neck and bound up the wound herself; and the King summoned him as a guest. "I will come one day," said Donotknow, "but not this time." So he leapt into the open field, dismissed his horse, dressed himself in his oxhide, put the bladder on his head, and began walking up and down the garden like a scarecrow.

Some time went by, not much, not little, and the King gave his two

elder daughters away to famous Tsarevichi. He was making ready for a great celebration, and the guests came to walk in the garden; and they saw Donotknow and asked, "What sort of a monster is this?"

So the King said, "This is Donotkno: I am using him as a scarecrow: he keeps the birds off my apple trees."

But the youngest daughter looked at Donotknow's hand and observed her kerchief on it, blushed and never said a word. From that time she began to walk into the garden and to gaze on Donotknow, and became thoughtful, never giving heed to the festivals and to the merriment.

"Where are you always going, my daughter?" asked her father.

"Oh, father, I have so lived many years with you, I have so often walked in the garden, and I have never seen such a delightful bird as I saw there just now!"

Then she began to ask her father to give her his blessing and to wed her to Donotknow. And for all the father might do to convince her, she insisted. "If you will not give me to him, I will remain unmarried all my life and will seek no other man." So the father agreed and he betrothed them.

Soon afterwards the Arab Prince wrote to him for the third time and asked for the hand of his youngest daughter. "If you will not consent, I will consume all of your kingdom with fire, and I will take her by main force."

Then the King answered, "My daughter is already promised: if you wish, come yourself and you will see. So the Prince came, and when he saw what a monster was betrothed to the fair Princess he thought he would slay Donotknow, and he summoned him to mortal combat.

Donotknow shook off his oxhide, took the bladder from his head, summoned his good horse and rode out, so fair a youth as no tale can tell and no pen can write.

They met in the open field, in the wide plains, and the list lasted long. Ivan the merchant's son killed the Arab Prince. Then at last the King recognised that Donotknow was not a monster but a splendid and handsome knight, and he made him his heir. Ivan the merchant's son lived on in his kingdom for good and lived all for happiness, took his own father to stay with him, but consigned his stepmother to punishment.

VI. THE MERCHANT'S DAUGHTER AND THE SERVANT

Once upon a time there was a rich merchant, and he had a beautiful daughter. This merchant carried his goods into different countries. When he arrived in a certain kingdom he brought his goods to the king and offered them to him, whereupon the king said to him, "Why can't I find a suitable bride?" The merchant replied, "I have a wonderful daughter, so wonderful that whatever one thinks of, she will know it." The King did not waste time; he wrote a letter and called his bodyguard, "Go to this merchant and give this letter to the merchant's daughter." And in the letter he wrote, "Dress for your wedding!" The merchant's daughter took this letter in her hands and started to cry; but she also started to dress. She had a servant with her, and nobody could distinguish between the servant and the merchant's daughter, because they were so alike. So they dressed in similar clothes, and went to the King for the marriage. Now the servant was rather indignant and she said, "Let us go along the island for a walk." They went along the island, and the servant put the merchant's daughter to sleep with some sleeping-draught, and cut out her eyes and put them in her pocket. Then she went to the body-guard and said to them, "Body-guard, my servant is gone away across the sea," and they said to her in reply, "For us it is important that you are alive; this peasant woman is not needed at all." She went to the king, and they were married; but later the King said to himself, "The merchant must have deceived me. This is not the merchant's daughter. Why is she so dull? She cannot do anything." But he continued to live with her. Meanwhile the merchant's daughter recovered from the wound which was caused by the servant. She could not see anything, nor could

she hear. But she learned that an old man was watching over his cattle, and she started to talk to him.

"Where dost thou live, O grandfather?"

"I live in a hut."

"Take me to you." And the old man accepted her. She said, "Grandfather, drive away the cattle!" and he listened and drove away the cattle. And she sent this old man to a shop to get velvet and silk on credit. The old man went. At the big and rich shop he was not given credit, but they gave him credit at a poor shop. He brought velvet and silk to the blind girl, and she said to him, "Grandfather, lie down to sleep. Don't bother about me. Whether day or night it is the same for me," and she began to make a king's crown out of velvet and silk. She made such a beautiful crown that everyone had to admire it. Early one morning the blind girl awakened the old man and said to him, "Go! Take it to the King. Don't ask anything. Ask only for an eye, and whatever they do to you, don't be afraid."

So he went to the palace, and took the crown with him. Everybody marvelled at the crown, and wanted to buy it from him, but the old man asked for an eye. At once they reported to the King that he was asking for an eye. Then the King swore, and wanted to put him in prison. But whatever the King said, the old man insisted. The King called to his body-guard, "Go and cut an eye from a soldier prisoner." But his wife the Queen at once jumped up, took out the eye, and gave it to the King. The King was very pleased, and said, "Now you have helped me, Queen," and gave the old man the eye. The old man took it, and left the palace, and arrived at his hut.

The blind girl now asked him, "Did you bring my eye, grandfather?" And he said, "I did." She took it from him, and in the early morning she spat on the eye, and placed it in her eye-socket, and began to see. She sent the old man again to the shops. She gave him money. She told him to pay for silk and velvet and to bring more velvet and gold.

He bought it from a poor merchant, and brought the merchant's daughter velvet and gold. And she sat down to make another crown; and when she had made it, she sent the old man to the same King, ordering him, "Don't take anything; ask only for the eye. And if they ask, 'Where did you get it from?' say, 'God gave it to me.'" The old man arrived at the palace, and everybody wondered. The first crown was good, but this was even better. And the King said, "Whatever it costs I must buy it." "Give me an eye," said the old man. The King at once ordered an eye to be cut from a prisoner, but the wife of the King at once took out the other eye. The King was very pleased and thanked her. "How much you have obliged me with this eye, my dear!" The King asked the old man, "Where dost thou find these crowns, old man?" "God gave them to me;" said the old man, and left the palace.

He arrived at the hut, and gave the eye to the blind girl. The next morning she came out again, spat on the eye, placed it in her eye-socket, and started to see with both eyes. That night she spent in the hut, but suddenly she found herself in a house of crystal, and prepared a feast. The King went to see what that marvel was, and who had built the fine house. He entered the court and she was pleased to see him, asking him to come in and sit at her table. He feasted there, and when he went away

he asked her to be his guest. Returning home, he said to his Queen, "My dear, what a marvellous house there is in that place, and what a young woman there! Whatever anyone thinks of, she will know it." The Queen guessed, and said to herself, "It is probably she whose eyes I removed." The King went to her again, and the Queen was very angry. The King arrived, feasted, and asked her to be his guest.

She started to dress and said to the old man, "Good bye! Here is a coffer of money for you. But do not get to the bottom; you will always have the coffer full of money. You will go to bed in this house of crystal, but you will wake up in your hut; and now I will go as a guest of the King. I shall soon be alive no more. They will kill me and cut me in small pieces. You must get up early, make a coffin, collect the pieces of my body, and bury them." Thereupon the old man wept.

Immediately the body-guard arrived, put the girl in a carriage, and took her away. They brought her to the palace, and the Queen did not look at her. She would have liked to shoot her at once, but she went out to the court and said to the guard, "When you take this wench home, cut her to bits and remove her heart, and bring it to me." They took the merchant's daughter home, and talked to her quickly, but she knew what they wanted to do, and she said to them, "Cut me up quickly!" They cut her up, removed her heart, buried her in the earth and went back to the palace. The Queen came out, took the heart, rolled it in an egg, and put it in her pocket.

The old man went to sleep in the house of crystal, and woke up in the hut and started to weep. He wept and wept, but he had to do his duty. He made a coffin and went in search for her. He found her in a dung-heap, dug her out, collected all the parts, and put them in the coffin and buried them in his house.

The King knew nothing of all this, and went to the merchant's daughter as a guest. When he arrived, there was no house, there was no girl, but where she was buried a garden had grown. He returned to the palace and started to tell the Queen, "I went round and did not find either house or girl, but only a garden." When the Queen heard about this, she went out to the court and said to the guards, "Go and cut this garden down!" They went to the garden and started to cut it down, but it was all of stone. The King was impatient, and went to look at the garden. In it he saw a boy, a boy of extreme beauty. "Some noblemen must have been walking there and lost him," he thought. He took him to his palace, brought him into his room and said to the Queen, "Be careful, my dear. Don't seize him." All the time the boy was crying so much that nothing could stop him. Yet suddenly he stopped, and started to run about the rooms. "O, my dear," said the King to the Queen, "how have you pacified him?" The boy ran away into the courtyard with the King after him. He ran into the street and the King followed him through the fields and eventually into the garden. There the King saw the girl, which pleased him immensely. The girl said to him, "I am the bride, the merchant's daughter; and the Queen is my servant," whereupon they returned to the palace. The Queen fell to her feet saying, "Forgive me!" "But you had no pity on me," said the merchant's daughter. "First you cut out my eyes, then you ordered me to be cut into small pieces."

The King then said, "Guards, cut out now the eyes of the Queen and send her out into the field!" They cut out her eyes, tied her to some horses and let them out into the field. The horses dragged her off into the open field, and the King with the young Queen went on living and enjoying life. The King always admired her and dressed her in gold.

VII. IVAN THE SACRISTAN'S SON

In olden times, near the land of Turkey, a sacristan named Germain officiated in a church. He had only one son, a boy who was beautiful, intelligent, strong, wise, and well-bred. His name was Ivan. One day an ambassador of Turkey, coming back from Persia, and seeing the youth, wanted to take him away, and therefore sent two hundred men to kidnap him. Germain was frightened, but Ivan comforted him. He mounted his horse, took his iron mace, and riding out, exterminated the two hundred Turks, except for two, who survived to carry back the news to the ambassador. Learning this, the Sultan this time sent ten thousand men against him. He decided to meet them, and took leave of his father and his mother with these words: "I take only this horse; my other horse, which is a brave steed, I leave behind in the stable. If I am killed in battle there will be blood in the stable up to his knees, and you must saddle him, and set out in search of me. The horse will guide you of its own accord to my corpse."

Ivan rode away. He met and exterminated the ten thousand Turks to a man. Then, learning that the Sultan was at war with the king of ARINAR, he set out for the latter's country. On the way he came across three great armies stretched out on a bloody plain. There was, however, in each of these armies a wounded soldier who could still speak, and these informed him that the carnage was the work of the Sultan, who sought the hand of Cleopatra, the King's daughter. Under a bush in each of these battle-fields, Ivan found a marvellous sword. The first two were to him like children's toys; the third only appeared to him worthy of his heroic arm. He entered the

service of a great lord of the country. Twice did he leave the castle - the first time in order to exterminate 80,000 Turks, the second time so as to destroy 100,000 of them. His master, seeing him come back covered with blood, suspected that he must be a valiant hero. The King of Arinar, recognising the services rendered to him, ordered the unknown "bogatyr" to be sought throughout his kingdom, found him and granted him the hand of Cleopatra, and died appointing him his successor.

However, the Sultan wanted to take revenge. This time he relied on the complicity of Ivan's perfidious and beautiful wife rather than on the might of thousands of brave men. He summoned a formidable army and entrusted its leadership to one of his Pashas. Preceding the army he entered the capital of Ivan in the guise of a beggar. In the absence of the new king he stole into the palace and asked Cleopatra to show him the good sword with which her husband armed himself for battle. She showed him the sword which twelve men could hardly carry, and the false beggar seized it. Ivan, grieved at this loss, took his iron mace instead and marched against the Turks. After many an exploit, he was overthrown and killed by the Pasha. The Sultan took Ivan's kingdom, and was received with great warmth by Cleopatra.

The Sacristan was soon warned of the fate of his son by the blood appearing in the stable. He saddled the brave horse, rode out, and found the King's body. The good horse said to him, "If you want to bring your son back to life, cut open my belly, take out my entrails, and rub Ivan with my blood. When the crows come to devour me, you must catch one and make it fetch the life-giving water." The Sacristan followed his counsels,

saying: "Return home, I will settle my account with my enemy."

Ivan, returning home after being brought back to life, met a peasant on the way, and said to him: "I wish you so much good that I am going to change myself into a wonderful horse with a golden mane. You will lead him before the Sultan's house." When the Sultan saw the horse, he bought it at a high price, and ordered it to be put in his stable, and from that moment he could not stop going to visit it there. "Why, my lord," said Cleopatra to him, "do you constantly go to the stables?"

"It is because I have bought a marvellous horse, which has a golden mane."

"It is not a horse; it is Ivan, son of the Sacristan. Have him killed."

Then a Black Girl ran to warn the horse of what she had just heard. The latter simply said, "When I am killed, take the blood of my head, and throw it over the Sultan's bulls." The Black Girl did what Ivan had told her; and when his head was cut off, she threw his blood over the bulls; among which appeared one with golden fur. The Sultan was warned, but he could not weary of visiting his cattle shed. Cleopatra renewed her questions. Then she said, "It is not a bull with golden fur; it is Ivan son of the Sacristan. Have him killed." The Black Girl ran to the cattle shed to inform the bull of what was taking place. Ivan told her this time to take his head when it had been cut off, and to bury it in the Sultan's garden. She obeyed, and the next day there appeared in the garden an apple-tree which yielded golden apples. The Sultan was informed of this; he this time could not weary of visiting his garden. Cleopatra again warned him,

"It is not a tree with golden apples; it is the son of the Sacristan. Have the apple-tree cut down." It was cut down, but the Black Girl had been instructed to gather the first splinter and to throw it into the pond of the garden, with the result that a magnificent duck was seen swimming in the pond. The Sultan ordered that it should be pursued, and started to swim after it. The duck drew him to the other bank, jumped on to it, and took again the shape of Ivan, but in the Sultan's attire. Then he had the Sultan and his vile wife arrested, and burnt both of them. Thereafter he reigned peacefully, ordered that his father and mother should come to him, married the daughter of a prince, and had from her many children.

VIII. THE CHRISTMAS MUMMERS' PLAY

Dramatis Personae

1. CAPTAIN SLASHER, in military costume, with sword and pistol.
2. King of England, in robes wearing the crown.
3. Prince GEORGE, King's Son, in robes and sword by his side.
4. Turkish Champion, in military attire, with sword and pistol.
5. A Noble Doctor.
6. Beelzebub.
7. A Clown.

Enter Captain Slasher. I beg your pardon for being so bold,
 I enter your house, the weather's cold,
 Room, a room! brave gallants, give us room to sport;
 For in this house we do resort, -
 Resort, resort, for many a day;
 Step in, the King of England,
 And boldly clear the way.

Enter King of England. I am the King of England that boldly does appear;
 I come to seek my only son, - my only son is here.

Enter Prince George. I am Prince George, a worthy knight;
 I'll spend my blood for England's right.
 England's right I will maintain;
 I'll fight for old England once again.

Enter Turkish Knight. I am the Turkish Champion;
 From Turkey's land I come.
 I come to fight the King of England
 And all his noble men.

Captain Slasher. In comes captain Slasher,
Captain Slasher is my name;
With sword and pistol by my side,
I hope to win the game.

King of England. I am the King of England,
As you may plainly see,
These are my soldiers standing by me;
They stand by me your life to end,
On them doth my life depend.

Prince George. I am Prince George, the Champion bold,
And with my sword I won three crowns of gold;
I slew the fiery dragon and brought him to the slaughter,
And won the King of Egypt's daughter.

Turkish Champion. As I was going by St. Francis' School,
I heard a lady cry 'A fool, a fool! '
'A fool,' was every word,
'That man's a fool,
Who wears a wooden sword.'

Prince George. A wooden sword, you dirty dog!
My sword is made of the best of metal free.
If you would like to taste of it,
I'll give it unto thee.
Stand off, stand off, you dirty dog!
Or by my sword you'll die.
I'll cut you down the middle,
And make your blood to fly.

(They fight; Prince George falls, mortally wounded.)

Enter King of England. Oh, horrible! terrible! what hast thou done?

Thou hast ruin'd me, ruin'd me,

By killing of my only son!

Oh, is there ever a noble doctor to be found,

To cure this English champion

Of his deep and deadly wound?

Enter Noble Doctor. Oh, yes; there is a noble doctor to be found,

To cure this English champion

Of his deep and deadly wound.

King of England. And pray what is your practice?

Noble Doctor. I boast not of my practice, neither do I study in the practice of physic.

King of England. What can you cure?

Noble Doctor. All sorts of diseases,

Whatever you pleases:

I can cure the itch, the pitch,

The phthisic, the palsy and the gout;

And if the devil is in the man,

I can fetch him out.

My wisdom lies in my wig,

I torture not my patients with excatious,

Such as pills, boluses, solutions, and embrocations;

But by the word of command

I can make this mighty prince to stand.

King. What is your fee?

Doctor. Ten pounds is true.

King. Proceed, Noble Doctor;

You shall have your due.

Doctor. Arise, arise! most noble prince, arise,
And no more dormant lay;
And with thy sword
Make all thy foes obey.

(The Prince arises.)

Prince George. My head is made of iron,
My body is made of steel,
My legs are made of crooked bones
To force you all to yield.

Enter Belzebub. In comes I, old Belzebub,
Over my shoulder I carry my club,
And in my hand a frying-pan,
Pleased to get all the money I can.

Enter Clown. In come I, who's never been yet,
With my great head and little wit:
My head is great, my wit is small,
I'll do my best to please you all.

Song (all join). And now we are done and must be gone,
No longer will we stay here;
But if you please, before we go,
We'll taste your Christmas beer.

(Exeunt omnes.)